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HANDBOOKS OF ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY

General Editor:

JOHN HENRY BURN, B.D., F.R.S.E.

EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE BISHOP OF ABERDEEN

THE SAXON CHURCH AND THE NORMAN CONQUEST

HANDBOOKS OF ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY

I. THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH (to A.D. 800). By J. H. MAUDE, M.A.

II. THE SAXON CHURCH AND THE NORMAN CONQUEST (A.D. 800-1135). By C. T. CRUTTWELL, M.A.

III. THE MEDIÆVAL CHURCH AND THE PAPACY (A.D. 1135-1485). By A. C. JENNINGS, M.A.

IV. THE REFORMATION PERIOD (A.D. 1485-1603). By HENRY GEE, D.D.

V. THE STRUGGLE WITH PURITANISM (A.D. 1603-1702). By BRUCE BLAXLAND, M.A.

VI. THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By ALFRED PLUMMER, D.D.

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THE SAXON CHURCH AND THE NORMAN CONQUEST

BY

C. T. CRUTTWELL, M.A.

RECTOR OF EWELME AND CANON RESIDENTIARY OF PETERBOROUGH

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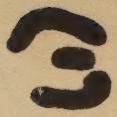

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PREFACE BY THE GENERAL EDITOR

THE initial impulse to undertake the task of editing this series was given me, so far back as 1897, by the late Dr Mandell Creighton, Bishop of London. He was good enough to suggest the names of some of the writers whom I should invite to collaborate; and he drew up what he called "a rough scheme," of which the following is a modification.

I. The Foundations of the English Church (to A.D. 800).
II. The Anglo-Saxon Church and the Norman Conquest (A.D. 800-1135).
III. The Mediæval Church and the Papacy (A.D. 1135-1485).
IV. The Reformation Period (A.D. 1485-1603).
V. The Struggle with Puritanism (A.D. 1603-1702).
VI. The English Church in the Eighteenth Century.

The names of the six scholars, who have accepted the invitation to contribute to this series, are a sufficient guarantee that the work is conceived in no narrow spirit of partisanship, but with the earnest desire to do justice to all parties, whether religious or political. The Editor has thought it right to allow to each writer the utmost freedom of treatment consistent with

the general plan of the series. If here and there this has resulted in some slight divergence of view between one volume and another, he believes that it will prove rather advantageous than detrimental to the utility of the work; for much would be lost, and very little gained, by preventing a writer from giving free expression to his own view of the facts, and of the inferences to be drawn from them.

J. H. BURN

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INTRODUCTION

THE period included in the first volume of this series covers the brightest age of the English Church. Two great currents of Christianity, the Celtic and the Roman, had mingled their streams with beneficent effect. The unworldly simplicity and tender personal care for souls which were the pre-eminent characteristics of Aidan's religion had come into contact with the organising genius of Rome which Theodore so worthily represented, and both had gained from the amalgamation. There resulted from it a type of Christianity, well-marked in its essential features, national in spirit while as yet the nation was not, thoroughly orthodox in the faith, regardful of the dignity of the Roman See yet far removed from subservience, pursuing its own spiritual career with little interference from outside, famous for learning in a dark age, rich in missionary zeal, high in universal esteem, mistress of a development at once native, free and spontaneous. This great process had now run its course. Before the death of Bæda a decline had already set in, of which he himself was only too conscious, and which confronts us at the outset of this second chapter in our Church's history. The period comprised in the present volume extends over more than three hundred years, beginning with the accession of Ecgbehrt and ending with the death of Henry I. In general

character it differs widely from the earlier period. At first sight it seems to be marked rather by abrupt divisions than by continuous growth. Yet in spite of the changes by which it was convulsed, changes as great as, or greater than any in our history, there are certain features of underlying unity that reveal themselves to an observant eye. It is, indeed, a period of struggle and calamity, of spiritual decline, of efforts after reform varyingly effective, of dynastic rivalries, culminating in an enforced reconstruction of the nation's civil and religious life. But it is also the period in which the nation, taught in the first instance by the example of the Church, attained to the realisation of its political unity, a result which was slowly but surely won for it by the stern discipline of a twofold conquest, first by the Danes from Denmark, and afterwards in yet more ruthless wise by their Norman kinsmen. At the close of it we shall see Normans and English fused together, as Danes and English had been fused before. In the course of it we shall meet with kings and churchmen who have left imperishable names in the annals of England, whether for Christian excellence and purity of motive or for forceful rule and far-seeing statesmanship.

Most emphatically it is an age of great men and of high endeavours. If in some cases the truthful portrait of hero or saint is obscured by popular legend or monkish fabrication, yet sufficient authentic record remains for us to understand and appreciate the personalities that moulded their time. And these personalities are among the most striking that have appeared in any age. In all history we read of no monarch who for every kingly virtue can be held

superior to Alfred ; of few if any who for strength of will and firmness of rule surpass William ; nor of any prelate who in purity of spirit and depth of intellect combined outshines St Anselm. And besides these giants, other names will come before us of lesser lustre but still great and glorious. Among our Kings there is the peace-loving and peace-giving Edgar, the martyred Eadmund, the wise and just Cnut, the unpatriotic but saintly Eadward, and the ill-starred but noble-hearted Harold. There is Godwine among our patriot-statesmen : Dunstan and Lanfranc among our great Churchmen : there is John the Scot, one of the world's subtle thinkers, who, indeed, takes no certain part in the drama that will unfold before us, but claims a mention in any list of Britain's worthies.

And if we go beyond our own shores, and recall the names of Otto and Frederick, of Arnulf and Baldwin, of Urban and Hincmar, and above all the master-spirit of Hildebrand, we shall confess that what is often looked on as one of the darkest ages of history was peculiarly rich in men who left their mark not only on their own generation but on the fabric of European thought and the course of European progress.

One is tempted to think that in proportion to their limited outlook upon the universe the leading men of those days thought more originally and acted more effectively than their successors in times of higher civilisation. If this be at all the case, one cause of it must be sought in the far greater simplicity of men's life and in the oneness of their fundamental beliefs. In the Middle Age the Christian interpretation of the Universe was everywhere unquestioningly accepted. Men did not exhaust their strength in seeking for first

principles of action. They started from the Church's categories as self-evident, and concentrated all their powers on striving to make these respond to their own ideas or interests. This gave them the signal advantage of being free to display to the full the tendencies of individual character. In our days men of original mind are confronted with the necessity of choosing which set of conflicting first-principles they intend to adopt, and which they regard as best suited to embody the ideal they have set before them. And however earnestly they may contend for what they believe, and however successful may be their efforts, they know that other men of equal talent and earnestness are championing a wholly different set of principles fundamentally irreconcilable with their own. This is a serious obstacle to the development of individual genius. Moreover the daily pressure of an ever-increasing body of knowledge, far too vast for any single mind to grasp, is a further hindrance to the independence of judgment and confident steadfastness of purpose which are essential to the realisation of aims of the first magnitude. In those days the field of knowledge was limited, and well within the grasp of one powerful mind, so that a man who had once compassed it felt able without misgiving to grapple with any situation that arose. These considerations may assist in explaining in some degree the extraordinary strength of will, tenacity of purpose and clearness of vision exhibited by the master-spirits of that age, revealing a power of government and statesmanship out of all proportion to the general level of almost barbarous social conditions that prevailed.

It is undoubtedly to these master-spirits that we owe

the record of real progress both in Church and State which took place in England during this period, a progress broken, it is true, by intervals of eclipse, and only attained at length by the sacrifice of some of the most precious elements in our national inheritance. The process through which this advance was gained is more especially traceable in the gradual widening of the nation's outlook until England was finally included within the feudal organisation of Christendom. In the eighth century the position of England had been one of practical isolation. The Church was, no doubt, in regular touch with the Roman See, but neither in doctrine nor in discipline was it much affected by the movements of religion abroad. The monastic ideal, which was imprinted upon it from the first, had before the end of the century fallen very low. Both Bæda and Alcuin bitterly lament the decline that had invaded the spiritual life of the nation; and the latter had earnestly exhorted the Bishops to do their utmost to raise it. Nevertheless it seemed as though the recuperative force was lacking. Historians are of opinion that, even if the Danish ravages had not taken place, the fervour of religion in England was in danger of dying out.

It was Offa, King of Mercia, who in consequence of his relations with Charlemagne at the Frankish Court first introduced into this country a larger conception of things. He had raised his kingdom to a position of supremacy in the Island, and to consolidate that supremacy had induced the Pope and his own Witan to consent to the dismemberment of the Archbishoprick of Canterbury by founding a new Primatial See at Lichfield. It is true this change was short-lived, and

another Pope and Witan at Kenwulf's instance undid what Offa had accomplished. But from this time onwards, though by no means continuously, we observe a wider outlook both in national and in Church affairs, which becomes especially evident in the commencement of diplomatic intercourse between the English and Continental courts. The Kings of Ecgbehrt's line, many of them great rulers, shew a decided appreciation of the importance of enlisting outside influences in order to carry out their policy. Two at least of their Archbishops, Oda and Dunstan, are statesmen with a wide religious horizon. And though this growing tendency to draw support from external sources was checked by the fierce life-and-death struggle with the Danes, yet no sooner was the kingdom finally settled than it appears again. Cnut proved himself an enlightened upholder of this larger policy, which indeed he formulated (though he did not learn it) at the Roman court. Eadward the Confessor carried it much further, though on unpopular and anti-national lines. And it can hardly be doubted that William found the ground more than partially prepared for him, when he imposed upon the conquered country and Church what in its main features was the developed Continental System. The process was greatly advanced on its religious side by the administration of Lanfranc, and still more, though not in a statesmanlike way, by that of Anselm, until it culminates within our period in the appointment by Pope Innocent in A.D. 1133 of the Archbishop of Canterbury as *legatus natus*, or what we may call the permanent official representative of the Pope's supreme authority in the Church of England.

The reader will therefore guide himself through the

intricacies of this chequered portion of our Church's history by keeping before his mind the thread of unity which binds them together, with its three strands, the consolidation of the kingdom, the widening of the national horizon in Church and State, and the final inclusion of the former within the body of Western discipline.

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THE SAXON CHURCH AND THE NORMAN CONQUEST

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THE SAXON CHURCH AND THE NORMAN CONQUEST

BOOK I

CHAPTER I

FROM ECGBEHRT TO ALFRED

THE year with which this volume opens (A.D. 800) marks an epoch in the history of Christendom. In that year at St Peter's Church in Rome Pope Leo III. placed the Imperial diadem on the head of Charles the Great, and saluted him as Emperor and Augustus. From this event dates the inauguration of the Holy Roman Empire, the embodiment of a conception destined to sway men's minds for centuries. It was regarded as the delegation by God to His two vicegerents on earth of the spiritual and temporal swords, to be wielded together in His Name, and to divide between them the supreme authority over man's religious and secular life. It is quite possible that Ecgbehrt, who first gave an imperial colouring to the position of head-king in Britain, may have witnessed this august ceremony and drawn his own lessons from it. The date given by the Chronicle (A.D. 800) for his coronation as King of Wessex is ascertained to be too early by a couple of years, and A.D. 802 must be substituted for it. From this time until he began the course

of victories which led to his supremacy in the island, there is little in his reign that concerns the Church. His military successes belong to general history. In A.D. 829 his object was achieved, and the several kingdoms, though left in virtual independence, recognised him as Bretwalda or king-paramount in England.

As far back as A.D. 787 Ecgbehrt had been obliged, through the jealousy of Beohrtric King of Wessex, to leave the kingdom and take refuge with other English exiles at the Frankish Court. It was Charles's policy to maintain friendly relations with England. He kept Ecgbehrt with him for thirteen years, during which the great conceptions that filled his mind may well have influenced his guest. It is probable that Ecgbehrt had formed his designs of conquest when he returned to assume the West-Saxon crown: and although the legend which made him take the title of King of England is a later invention, it expresses a historic truth in so far as it marks his victories over the Northumbrian and Mercian powers as the first great step towards the unification of the kingdom. In Ecgbehrt's days, however, such unity was very far from being attained. The old tribal kingship had indeed passed away. But there still remained three separate tracts of country, each with a distinct type of population, corresponding more or less accurately to the three realms of Northumbria, Mercia and Wessex. Any unity that might be imposed on these could as yet be only of an external character, maintained so long as power remained to enforce it, but dissolving into its constituent elements as soon as the disruption caused by the Danish inroads compelled that power to withdraw. At the same time a vantage-ground was gained which was never wholly lost; and Ecgbehrt's successors

were able to pursue his policy and carry it to its legitimate issue.

But, apart from royal power, there had all along remained one force in England, broken indeed and hampered by the invasion, but never extinguished, which had made for unity from the first, and was to exercise an ever-increasing influence in that direction. The Church, since its introduction by Augustine, had brought the various tribes together as members of the Christian brotherhood. Even the dissensions which in the North had threatened to rend it had not arisen from tribal animosities but from differences of ecclesiastical order. When these were peaceably arranged, the impression of one faith, one discipline and one worship, must have been a constant if unacknowledged protest against the dividing influences of the Heptarchy.

The original design of Gregory in A.D. 597 had been to establish one body of Christianity for the whole Island: and to secure this he had been prepared to make concessions to the existing form of religion as held by the old British Church. His plan had indeed failed, but not through any want of breadth of view on his part. The Church which confronted the heathen Saxons and Angles knew no distinctions based on locality or tribe. When Theodore had presided at the Council of Streaneshalch it had not been as Archbishop of the Kentish Church that he sat there; nor, when he strove with Wilfrith, had his opponent asserted any rights on the score of his Northumbrian origin. Both had stood forth as Prelates of the English Church, a branch of the one Catholic and Apostolic body whose recognised centre was at Rome. Moreover, in the Ecclesiastical Councils held in the different kingdoms, the bishops

met one another as members of the same body, as brother-churchmen, even though in their civil relations the states which they represented might be at variance. It was only among the Welsh and British provinces that national exclusiveness still manifested itself by the retention of different ecclesiastical customs. But this separateness gradually tended to disappear, though as late as Alfred's reign, we find that the customs of the British Church had a strong hold in Cornwall.

The Church, then, represented the unifying factor in our national life. And the influence it wielded was greatly enhanced by the close connexion that existed between the Witan, or general Council of the realm, and the Ecclesiastical assembly of the Church. Originally the latter had been separate. But more and more the custom grew of holding the two together, so that the compact organisation of the Church was continually present to the civil assembly as an obvious sign of strength, and a pattern to which the unity of the nation might eventually hope to conform.

The first event that comes before us in our history is an illustration of this truth. The policy of Offa, King of Mercia, had been directed towards the consolidation of his power by weakening the See of Canterbury. His efforts had met with success. The establishment of the Arch-diocese of Lichfield under Higbert had for the moment identified the Church organisation of the Mercian kingdom with its political boundaries. Had this been allowed to continue, a severe blow would have been dealt not only at the original constitution of our Church, but at that very influence towards national unity which it had done so much to promote. Archbishop Æthelheard, after Offa's death, set himself to undo what had been hastily and unwisely done.

He received the warm assistance of the great English Churchman Alcuin, now Abbot of St Martin's at Tours, who wrote to his old pupil Eanbald Archbishop of York, and asked him to co-operate with Æthelheard. It was proposed by these two prelates to refer the question to the Pope, Leo III., who decided in favour of Æthelheard. In A.D. 799 Higbert had ceased to sign charters as Archbishop; and Kenwulf, Offa's successor, recognised Æthelheard as Primate of all England, and restored to the Church of Canterbury the lands and property abstracted from it by Offa. But some further delay ensued before the matter was finally settled. In A.D. 801, at a Witan held at Cealhythe, Higbert signs as Bishop only, but takes precedence of the Archbishop. It was not until the Synod of Cloveshoo in A.D. 803 that Higbert relinquished his dignity and signed as an Abbot after the Bishop of Lichfield. At this Synod, and at a Witan which must have been held immediately after it, the position of the Archbishop of Canterbury was re-established, and duly acknowledged by all the twelve provincial bishops. Æthelheard survived this event two years, and died in A.D. 805.

The kingdom of Kent had been governed by Kenwulf as part of his Mercian dominions. But he thought it prudent to conciliate the Kentish folk by appointing to the Primacy a dignitary of their own Cathedral. His choice fell upon Wulfred, who held the post of Æthelheard's Archdeacon. This is the first occasion on which we meet with the title of Archdeacon in the English Church, and it is probable that Æthelheard introduced it. The office had existed in the Western Church at least since the days of St Jerome, as a title conferred on the most eminent of those secular clergy who remained in Deacon's orders, that he might act as

secretary to the Bishop. Towards the close of the eighth century the growth of population in many dioceses had rendered expedient the establishment of two or more sub-divisions in each diocese over which rural Archdeacons were placed to assist the Bishop in his work of supervision and relieve him from some of the difficulties of administration. The holders of these offices do not appear to have been necessarily restricted to Deacon's orders. But the restriction was retained in the case of the Great Archdeacon (as the Cathedral functionary was called) who was not permitted to be in Priest's orders till the ninth century.

The office of Dean seems also to have been introduced into England about this time. Originally the Dean of a Cathedral (*Decanus*) had been subordinate to the Provost (*Præpositus*), who was the Bishop's vicegerent as head of the chapter. And this relation between the two offices still prevails in several colleges of our ancient universities. But in A.D. 813 at Mayence, and subsequently at other Councils, the position of the two dignitaries were reversed, and the Dean placed above the Provost. And it is likely that Wulfred's Dean Ceolnoth, who afterwards became Archbishop, held the position immediately below the Primate in his Cathedral, though without possessing any of those independent rights that have been attached to the office of Dean in later times.

Wulfred was a wealthy landowner in Kent, and a man of great aptitude for business, who administered the property of the See with such success as to bring him into collision with King Kenwulf. It is possible that he may have assumed privileges which Kenwulf held to be incompatible with the position of a subject. The Archbishops had the prerogative of issuing coins

from their own mint, but such coins were always stamped with the name or effigy of the King on one side. Wulfred took upon him to disregard this practice, and those coins of his which remain bear no King's name. Kenwulf seized some pretext for a quarrel, and laid hands on two of the monasteries belonging to the Church, Minster in Thanet and Reculver near Herne Bay. On Wulfred's resistance Kenwulf appears to have accused him before the Pope of charges which he could not prove. It was in consequence of this quarrel that according to a contemporary document 'the whole English nation was deprived of primordial authority and the ministry of holy baptism for six years.' The exact meaning of these words is doubtful. Probably they describe an attempt on the King's part to prevent the Archbishop from exercising his episcopal functions for that period, since Mercia being the ruling power in England, the action of its sovereign might be rhetorically described as extending over the whole country. The Pope, so far as we can judge, seems to have taken Wulfred's side. We cannot therefore infer that an interdict was laid by him upon the Church of Canterbury, nor is such a thing at all credible.

In A.D. 820 the King met Wulfred in London before the assembled Witan, and imposed heavy conditions of reconciliation upon him which he felt obliged to accept. The following year saw the death of Kenwulf, and the murder of his little son Kenelm. A romantic legend gathered round the fate of this child-King. It was said that as he died a dove rose from his body, and flew to St Peter's in Rome, where it laid upon the altar a letter describing his death and the place where the body might be found. The Pope wrote to the English kings, bidding them carry out the instructions of the

letter. The body was duly discovered, and laid to rest in the Minster of Winchcombe, where a chapel was built and dedicated to St Kenelm. His sister Cwenthryth, who was an Abbess, was generally suspected of having instigated the deed. She had been allowed to retain her father's property, among which were the estates that Kenwulf had taken from Wulfred. These she now surrendered to Beornwulf who had taken the Mercian crown, and he came to terms with the Church and the Archbishop.

By this time Ecgbehrt had forced his way to supremacy over the other English kings. He had sent his son Æthelwulf into Kent to eject the feeble Baldred, and Æthelwulf's authority had been accepted, though reluctantly, by Archbishop Wulfred.

The line of the West-Saxon dynasty which begins with Ecgbehrt is deservedly famous in our annals. Most of them were warlike monarchs: all of them had some political capacity, and all with one or two exceptions were friends of the Church. The Mercian kings had endeavoured to depress the Church, or at any rate to make it subservient to their own interests. Ecgbehrt adopted a different policy. He enlisted the influence of religion on the side of his great national ideal. Wulfred had died in A.D. 832; and his successor Feologild, a Kentishman, having died within a few months of his appointment, the King determined that a West-Saxon should fill the Chair of St Augustine. The man chosen was Ceolnoth, already referred to as Dean of Canterbury, who threw himself zealously into the work of co-operating with the King.

At a Witan held at Kingston in Surrey in A.D. 838 a sort of treaty of alliance was concluded between Church and State. The King and his successors

pledged themselves to unite with the Archbishop and his successors for the peace of the Church and the good government of the people, on terms of loyal obedience on the one side and faithful protection on the other. A like agreement was made at the same time with the Church of Winchester, and both were several times confirmed by the next king Æthelwulf.

Ecgbehrt's last years were disturbed by the incursions of the Danes, who had raided the coast at intervals for several years, but now exchanged these spasmodic attacks for an organised invasion. They came from Denmark, whereas the earlier marauders had been mainly Northmen from the Scandinavian peninsula.[1] They roused the newly conquered Welshmen of Cornwall, and their joint forces met those of Ecgbehrt at Hengestdun above the Tamar. Victory declared for the King, and for the two remaining years of his life he enjoyed rest from these marauders.

The attack of the Danish pirates was as much on the Christian religion as on the State. Everywhere they sacked churches and monasteries, slaughtered the monks, carried off the nuns, and destroyed the libraries and other furniture except the precious metals. They did their best to make a clean sweep of Christianity wherever they landed.

In A.D. 839 Ecgbehrt was succeeded by his son

[1] In our own chronicles Dane is used as the common term for all the Scandinavian invaders of Britain, while 'Northman' generally means 'men of Norway.' Asser, however, uses the words as synonymous, 'Nordmanni sive Dani.' Across the Channel 'Northman' was the general name for the pirates, and 'Dane' would usually mean a pirate from Denmark. The distinction is partly chronological; as, owing to the late appearance of the Danes towards the middle of the ninth century and the prominent part they took in the Viking movement, their name tended from that time to narrow the area of the earlier term 'Nordmanni.' (Green.)

Æthelwulf, who had reigned for some years as sub-King of Kent, at that time the wealthiest and most populous part of Britain. He was fortunate in his advisers, Ealhstan Bishop of Sherborne, an able statesman, who in A.D. 845 placed himself at the head of the men of Dorset and fought bravely against the invaders; and Swithun, Bishop of Winchester, a prelate of saintly life, whom the King, himself a religiously minded man, trusted more than any one, and made him his minister. The character of Æthelwulf has been somewhat unfavourably judged, as if he lacked vigour and self-reliance. But there is not sufficient ground for this estimate. He met danger manfully when it arose, won the victory of Aclea over the invaders of Kent, and by his prompt assistance saved Burhed King of Mercia from imminent peril at the hands of the Welsh. In political sagacity he was in advance of his time. Soon after he came to the throne he conceived the idea of opening relations with the Emperor in order to combine against the common Danish foe. And some years later we find him planning a visit to Charles the Bald for the purpose of consulting how to meet the increasing peril. But it was not until A.D. 854 that he found an opportunity of leaving the shores of England. And it shows how much more the religious danger appealed to his spirit than the political, that he made it his first object to make a pilgrimage to Rome.

Before he left the country, he bestowed on the Church that celebrated gift which under the name of 'Æthelwulf's Donation' or 'Æthelwulf's Charter,' is so often referred to by our historians. He assembled his Witan, and in its presence and with its approval, dedicated to the servants of God the tenth part of the

folk-land of his kingdom by whomsoever held, by freeing it from all burdens except the *trinoda necessitas*.[1] He also assigned a tenth part of his private estate for purposes of Divine service, and provided that for every tenth hide of his land a stranger or poor person should be clothed and fed.

To avoid misconception it is necessary to remember that the King was not at this time the sole proprietor of the soil, but only one among other owners, and that his donation did not extend beyond the kingdom of Wessex. Another misconception that should be guarded against is the idea that this was a measure for the enforcement of the tithe by royal authority. No doubt the conception had prevailed from a remote age that the tenth part of every man's wealth is sacred to God, and as early as A.D. 787 Charlemagne had actually legislated on this basis. But it was not until long after Æthelwulf's time that legal enactments were passed in England to this effect.

The project of a pilgrimage to Rome was no new thing among English kings. As far back as A.D. 689 Ceadwalla the West-Saxon, after his wars with the Jutes, had desired to wash away his sins in the Church of the Holy Apostles, had been baptised at Rome, and passed away while still clad in the white robes of his chrism. In A.D. 709 a Mercian and an East-Saxon king had quitted their thrones to take the tonsure at Rome. In A.D. 725 the renowned Ine of Wessex, weary of strife, had made his way to rest within the holy city. Æthelwulf's anxiety for his people quite as much as for his own soul prompted him to offer

[1] This was the threefold public service universally levied, *i.e.* the payment of imposts for bridges and highways, of contributions for keeping up walls and fortifications, and liability for military service.

intercession on that spot where he believed it would be most prevailing.

The Rome to which he fared was the abode of apprehension and trouble. Everywhere signs of disaster appeared. Italy was racked with intestine quarrels: the Northmen were masters of Western Frankland and had begun to ravage Normandy: the Moslems were persecuting the Church in Spain: the Empire had already lost its first strength: the Saracens were advancing upon Christendom: the Eastern and Western Churches were on the point of separation. Disorder and violence were rife. The Popes, the nominal rulers of the Church, for lack of a sanction sufficiently awe-inspiring, found themselves unable to wield their authority with effect. It was at this moment that an opportunity presented itself to the Papal see of obtaining exactly the sanction it required by means of the famous Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. Of these some account will be given in a later chapter of this volume. It is sufficient at present to remark that though undoubtedly fictitious, they achieved their object. They gave to the Papal prerogative the seal of Divine authority, and so facilitated its progress toward the control of every other earthly power. From the point of view of morality it is impossible to justify their reception: but from that of expediency it must be confessed that they supplied a force imperatively needed to curb the savagery of the time.[1]

The darkness had, in fact, deepened throughout Christendom, and our own country shared in the

[1] We are reminded of the well-known paradox of Plato, that since the mass of mankind are incapable of apprehending higher truth, recourse must be had to a 'noble falsehood' (γενναῖον ψεῦδος) to govern them.

general depression of spiritual and intellectual life. The period during which Wulfred and Ceolnoth held the primacy between them was nearly sixty years. Neither of them was fitted by grandeur of soul or patriotic heroism to stem the tide of disaster or resist the process of decay. One cannot wonder that a pious king should seek in the resource of pilgrimage a respite from the anxieties that encompassed him. But Æthelwulf had another and more practical object for his journey. As has been already indicated, he wished to consult with the Emperor Charles the Bald on the situation of both their kingdoms. The meeting took place in A.D. 856, and after a visit which lasted three months Æthelwulf cemented his friendship with the Frankish Court by espousing Charles's daughter Judith, a girl of twelve years old. The marriage was not popular in England, more especially as Judith had been crowned Queen before her arrival, thus infringing the custom of West-Saxon royalty, which did not allow coronation to its queens.

The King's long absence had also caused discontent. When he returned at the close of the year, he found Wessex in arms against him, and the Witan resolved to set his eldest living son Æthelbald upon the throne. Æthelwulf, with rare self-suppression, refused to fight for his crown. He contented himself with the eastern portion of the kingdom, and left his son in possession of the larger and wealthier realm. His health had already begun to fail, and within two years he died, and left Æthelbald undisputed successor to the whole kingdom (A.D. 858).

The young King scandalised the national feeling by marrying his father's widow, no doubt from the same political motives that had swayed Æthelwulf. After

his death in A.D. 860, she returned to her father, and was given in marriage to Baldwin, Count of Flanders, by whom she became the ancestress of Matilda, wife of William the Conqueror.

Æthelbald's reign was short and uneventful, as was that of his brother Æthelbert, who died in A.D. 866, and was succeeded by his next brother Æthelred. In his reign began that continuous torrent of invasion which, though checked for a time, finally converted England into a Danish kingdom. This attack differed from all preceding ones in its purpose of effecting a permanent settlement. The invaders no longer swooped upon the country in separate hordes eager for plunder and satisfied with vengeance: it was a large and disciplined army of occupation which, adopting a more advanced mode of warfare and more skilful strategy than were known to the English, now set itself to conquer the entire country. Its first march was against Northumbria, which after a short but bloody campaign was effectually subdued and sank without further struggle into a tributary kingdom. The effect upon the Church there was desolating. Such Abbeys as still survived in that ancient nursery of England's spiritual life were one after another destroyed and blotted out. The religious house of Streaneshalch over which St Hilda had presided was burned to the ground, and its name obliterated by that of the Danish Whitby. The See of Hexham vanished from history: that of Lindisfarne was abandoned, and its bishop fled, carrying from one hiding-place to another the precious relics of holy Cuthbert. York alone remained in possession of its dignity, which, indeed, was increased by isolation, so that it became a centre of political as well as spiritual pre-eminence. But the school of Ecgbehrt, of Alcuin

and of Eanbald was swept away, and the light of learning disappeared for ever from its ancient seat.

The Danes next turned their onslaught upon Mercia. Burhed, the under-king, besought Æthelred's help, and Æthelred, joining forces with him, fought a battle which saved the province. The Danes retired to East Anglia, where their triumph was rendered execrable by the cruel murder of King Eadmund whom they martyred for his faith. Wessex now alone remained; and to Wessex, strong in its hill-ramparts and difficult to invade, the Danish host bent its attack. Their leader was Guthrum or Gorm, who may have been of kin to that other Gorm known to history as the founder of the kingdom of Denmark. He concentrated his camp on the hills of Berkshire not far from Reading. The King had some years before conferred the government of Kent with the title of *Secundarius* (or second in the realm) upon his youngest brother Ælfred or Alfred, who now appears joined with Æthelred in command of the English force. As this is the first occasion on which Alfred comes before us, a few words may be said about his youth and upbringing.

He was born at Wantage in Berkshire in A.D. 848, or according to a less reliable account in A.D. 849. At the age of four, in the year of Æthelwulf's victory over the Welsh in Mercia, he was sent to Rome in company with several nobles of the realm to prepare for his father's pilgrimage. The postponement of this project for two years prolonged the young prince's stay at the Papal Court. It is said that Leo IV. made much of the goodly child, that he adopted him as a son, anointed him with oil, and set a crown upon his head. The Roman Catholic historian Lingard sees in this incident the omen of his future greatness. But

whatever may have been the significance of the Pope's action, we may be sure that Alfred's contact even at that early age with the great movements at the centre of Christendom was not lost upon him. We may believe that the splendour of a more advanced civilisation opened his mind to larger views, and kindled that enlightened interest in the Church throughout the world for which he is so conspicuously distinguished. From Rome he accompanied his father to the Frankish Court, where men of learning were found, and a refinement of manners in advance of anything known in his own land. His biographer Asser tells us that up to the age of twelve he was wholly illiterate, but apt at learning by heart Saxon lays, and already a daring huntsman. One day his mother Osburh, calling her boys around her, held before them a fair illuminated volume of Saxon lays, and promised to give it to the one who should first repeat its contents. Alfred went to a teacher who could read, and learning the verses correctly, won the gift. He then began to study the Hours and learned by heart several of the psalms and prayers written in a little book which he carried about with him, though he could not read it. He could find no one to teach him the liberal arts, much to his disappointment; for in those days he had abundant leisure, which was never afterwards the case.

His health was far from strong. As a youth he was subject to a painful complaint, which to some extent he outgrew. In A.D. 868 he wedded Ealswith, daughter of Eadburh, of the royal house of Mercia; about which time his health again became affected by the malady from which he suffered almost throughout his life. His spirit, however, was equal to all the demands made upon it. He threw himself with whole-hearted devotion

into the duties of command; and at the battle of Englefield counteracted the too scrupulous piety of his brother, who was unwilling to interrupt the Divine office, by seizing the decisive moment for action and leading the army to success.

On Æthelred's death in A.D. 871, the young warrior, at the age of twenty-two, was called upon to assume the kingdom at the darkest hour of its existence, and to guide it through a succession of unexampled calamities to a new and glorious future. With his accession the contest became more unceasing. No less than eight battles were fought in a single year, till, baffled and exhausted, the Danes retired to London, and both Mercia and Wessex enjoyed a few months of respite. In A.D. 874, however, a fresh invasion of Mercia took place. The province was overrun by the Danish host, and so completely conquered that Burhed was driven out, and a sub-king named Ceolwulf placed over it, on the condition of surrendering his authority to the victors on demand. The fallen prince fled to Rome, where he died shortly after, and was laid to rest in the Church of St Mary in the Saxon School.

The three following years were spent in incessant warfare. Alfred had fitted out a fleet and gained some naval successes. But the Danish army was strong enough to divide its forces: one division under Halfdan pushed northwards and camped in Northumbria, which was again subdued; the other, under Guthrum, moved southwards. Occasional gleams of success enabled the King to make treaties with his foes. But though the chiefs on these occasions swore by their armlets, the most binding form of oath, to leave the country, their habitual faithlessness made the promise

worthless, and on the first opportunity they broke the peace and resumed their hostile attacks.

It was probably in the winter of A.D. 877 that the King, his army almost disbanded, was forced to take shelter in the woods of Somerset, where the legend of his lodging with a cow-herd and the story of the burnt cakes arose, and the reproof from his friend St Neot was remembered, who told him that his sufferings were a retribution for some former neglect to help his distressed subjects. At length, being still more hardly pressed, he sought a refuge in the inaccessible isle of Athelney, amid the swamps of the Parret, where with a few faithful followers he disappeared for a while from sight and waited for better days.

It was here that in the seventeenth century was discovered the jewel of blue enamel set in gold, which is now preserved as a precious relic in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and bears the legend, 'Ælfred had me wrought.'

The three months spent at Athelney were a time of vigorous preparation for a fresh effort. At Whitsuntide in A.D 878 the Danish host was astonished to see a great muster of the Englishmen under Alfred's standard at Ecgbehrt's Stone near Selwood. The Danes were encamped at Ethandun or Edington not far from Westbury, and there the great battle was fought that decided the fate of England. The Danes were driven into their camp, where they prepared to defend themselves: but supplies were cut off, and within a fortnight they had no choice but to surrender. Such of them as refused to accept the peace offered were allowed to depart. The rest, with their leader Guthrum, bound themselves by a solemn treaty at Wedmore to cease their hostility and quit Alfred's realm.

The King's desire was to prepare for the ultimate union of the two peoples as a Christian nation. He proposed to Guthrum that he should accept the faith of Christ and use his influence to induce his men to do the same. The Dane consented: and Alfred sent for Archbishop Æthelred (who in A.D. 870 had succeeded Ceolnoth) and he with the King's assistance prepared him for holy baptism. The Danes withdrew from all England south of the Thames, and abandoned in addition the country west of Watling Street, the land of the Hwiccas, the upper part of the valley of the Thames, and the whole valley of the Severn. Guthrum was baptised under the name of Æthelstan, the King standing as his sponsor. The kingdom which he afterwards set up in East Anglia became a Christian kingdom, though its Danish customs were retained.

The battle of Ethandun, supplemented by the treaty of Wedmore, may rightly be ranked among the decisive battles of the world. By it the conquest of England by the Danes while yet a heathen people was averted, and a space secured for the unification of the English kingdom and people. It is true that the Danelaw continued to be a virtually separate nationality until the final conquest of the country by Cnut. But the century and a half that intervened made all the difference to England. Had Alfred failed in his resistance, had Guthrum and Hasting founded a Danish sovereignty over our island, there can be little doubt that England would have become a portion of the Scandinavian Empire and her whole destiny have been changed. The Church no doubt would have prevailed over the Danish heathendom of the ninth century as it did over the Norman heathendom of a slightly later date. But the outlook of England would

have been diverted from the main stream of Continental life to the narrow horizon of the Baltic and the North Sea. When Cnut reigned as King of England, Norway and Denmark, all danger of this was past. He himself regarded England as the centre of his Empire; he wished to be considered an Englishman, and his religious policy no less than his secular, was marked by a generous enlightenment.

Although the main danger was now averted, it was yet several years before Alfred could devote himself to the work on which his heart was set, the reconstruction of the national life. He had still to bestir himself in repelling partial attacks, and in maintaining the efficiency of the ships for the protection of his shores. He committed the Mercian sub-realm to the Ealdorman Æthelred, a martial prince and wise ruler, who had married Alfred's daughter Æthelflæd. The extinction of the native kingships in the various Heptarchic divisions left the kings of Wessex natural lords of the English race, so that as the different districts were recovered by Alfred's successors, they willingly incorporated themselves in the kingdom of England under the rule of Ecgbehrt's line.

We have thus rapidly sketched the steps by which Alfred had retrieved the position of his realm and surmounted perils as great, perhaps, as had ever encompassed a king. His valour and patience had been rewarded. He was now to turn from the task of repelling the foe to the still more arduous task of reconstructing the shattered fabric of his people's life. He was eminently fitted for the work. In every natural gift that could attract or influence men he was superior to any of his subjects. In war he had proved himself a great captain, calm in danger, merciful in

victory, undismayed by defeat. In peace he was to prove himself a true father of his people, strong to guide them in the path of a higher life, not by good laws only, but by good example. His cheerfulness and warmth of heart endeared him to all who knew him. His simplicity, naturalness and familiar friendliness were far removed from pride of royal state. His passion for music and song, for handicrafts, above all for hunting, made him the equal comrade of those who loved these things, while his energy and talent raised him far above them. The root of his character was religion ; not the religion of the dogmatist or persecutor but of the humble Christian. To him the golden rule was the key of justice, the one principle to apply to life. After a thousand years his name is dear to us as ever: for it recalls the noblest, the most virtuous and the most heroic of all our kings.

In the next chapter we shall describe the measures taken by him and his advisers to revive religion and letters. But before doing this, it will be necessary to give some account of the Church in his day, and to explain the means it employed to maintain its influence. This will enable us to understand the nature of the problem with which Alfred was confronted, and to appreciate the steps he took to meet it.

CHAPTER II

CHURCH AND PEOPLE UP TO ALFRED'S TIME

IN the eighth century the English Church had been renowned throughout Western Europe for its devotion, discipline and scholarship. The monasteries of Jarrow and Wearmouth and the School of York had each bequeathed to the Church at large a scholar of the first rank. In Bæda had been seen an example of childlike piety combined with encyclopædic knowledge and the genius of a great historian. In Benedict Biscop, his friend and fellow-worker, equal piety had been joined with even more varied accomplishments. By introducing into his community new forms of art, he greatly stimulated the native aptitude for design and opened out to English craftsmen those departments of decorative art in which they were afterwards to rise so high. In Ecgbehrt, Archbishop of York, had appeared an educationalist worthy to rank with the great Theodore. A pupil of Bæda and a devoted monk, this eminent prelate had not thought it beneath his dignity to give personal instruction to the youths brought up in the Episcopal monastery, among whom was one, afterwards destined to lead the intellectual life of Europe and to link the names of England and the newly formed Empire of the West in honourable partnership. This was Alcuin, a native of the city, who after Ecgbehrt's death became head-teacher of his school, and under whom it reached its highest pinnacle

of fame. The history of his life and writings lies outside our subject. But as teacher and counsellor of Charles the Great, and subsequently as Abbot of St Martin's at Tours, he carried the influence of English learning far and wide, and assisted the Emperor in withstanding the tendency of the Pope to encourage image-worship. His presence there prepared indirectly for the relations that were afterwards established between the English and Frankish Courts, and as a man of action, persuasive and acceptable to princes, he held a commanding position in the counsels of the Empire. But he was an unwilling exile. In the midst of Imperial favours his heart turned ever to England; in her Church he took the liveliest interest, and from his distant home sent to it frequent messages of admonition or guidance. It is evident that the laxity which Bæda had bewailed had proceeded yet further in his day. His letters to the Kings of Northumbria and Mercia, to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and to the monks of Hexham, Lindisfarne and Jarrow, are filled with earnest exhortations to greater zeal and more fervent piety. At his death in A.D. 804 there can be no doubt that a period of indolence and exhaustion had already set in. Even apart from the succession of disasters caused by the Danish inroads there are many evidences that both religion and culture were steadily on the decline.

In order to appreciate the condition of things in Alfred's time and the slender results of his unwearied efforts at reform, we must not lose sight of this gradual giving out of the original spiritual impulse. It may be that the comparative isolation of our Church from the currents of Continental opinion deprived it of a needful stimulus: it may be that so many higher spirits had

gone forth from our shores as teachers or missionaries that the supply at home failed. Whatever the explanation, the facts seem to point to the inability of a local Church keeping its spiritual powers unimpaired unless it be in vital and not merely in nominal connexion with the whole Church Catholic.

We must now pause a moment and give a brief account of the position of the Church in our country and of the provision that existed for the maintenance of religion.

As might be expected from its missionary sources, the earliest ideal of English religion was monastic. It was a colony of monks that St Augustine had founded at Canterbury under Gregory's rule to undertake the Christianising of England. It was a band of monks that issued from Iona and Lindisfarne to convert the heathens of the Northern Kingdom and to impress upon their disciples a conception of the Gospel even more distinctively monastic. We do not, indeed, know what rule these monks adopted; possibly that of St Basil, but certainly a strictly ascetic one. Their communities were not episcopally governed, but under the rule of an Abbot, with brethren in episcopal orders for purposes of confirmation and ordination subject like the rest to the Abbot's authority. The succession to the headship was elective, but limited to the clansmen of the deceased Abbot. This constitution was a source of weakness which in any large sphere of action could not fail to make itself felt.

These Celtic monks built but few churches: they moved about as itinerant preachers, gathering the people together by crosses placed on the highways as often they came to preach, or the Bishop to confirm.

Such a system, with all its evangelistic zeal, lacked the capacity for an organised development. What it

effected was to implant everywhere a profound conviction that the ascetic life was the one most acceptable to God, though this was modified in their case by the wonderful sweetness and charity of their lives. It was able to inspire splendid individual examples of holiness, but we do not hear of any formulated routine of discipline to cover men's daily life.

The Roman mission, on the other hand, supplied the constructive elements that were needed. It brought the Church from the first into touch with the great stream of Continental Christianity, and prevented such eccentricities as had arisen in the Scottish discipline from being perpetuated. It secured a reverential attitude towards the Roman See, and succeeded, though not without opposition, in procuring the adhesion of the English Church to the Roman system of discipline.

The original character of the Roman mission was as predominantly monastic as that of the Celtic. And this was fortunate in several ways. In the first place, the people needed to be taught the arts and industries of civilised life, which could only be done through the example of the monastery. And in the second place, the clergy were by this means kept free from that entanglement with political combinations which proved so harmful on the Continent. It is part of the glory of the English Church that her bishops remained for at least three centuries spiritual men, separated from Court life and secular office, and free from the temptation to state-intrigue or party-religion. Some exception must be made with regard to the Archbishops of Canterbury who had always been to a large extent secular rulers; and at a later date the same is equally or even more true of the Archbishops of York. But,

speaking generally, the activities of the Bishops, up to this time, were confined to the religious sphere, and they never became secular potentates or ealdormen even while they took a leading part, as Eahlstan and Swithun did, in political affairs.

In the matter of bishoprics the arrival of Theodore had given the Church a new starting-point. Before this time, such as existed were for the most part co-extensive with the separate kingdoms. The bishop's house in each diocese consisted of clerks, priests, monks and nuns, as well as a school for the young. All these inmates lived by a rule, nominally that of St Benedict, though it may not have been in all respects accurately observed. The house was called the Monastery or Mynster, the male inmates Monks, the female Mynchens, all as a matter of course observing the rule of chastity.

A practice originally imported from Ireland, and existing also in Gaul, became not uncommon in England in the seventh century, viz. the foundation of double monasteries for men and women. The buildings were usually, but not always, separate. No intercourse was permitted between monks and nuns except to the priest who celebrated the Divine office. The joint establishment was ruled sometimes by an Abbot, more often perhaps by an Abbess. St Hilda's abbey at Streaneshalch (afterwards Whitby) is the most celebrated, but there were several others. These foundations continued until the ninth century, by which date they had degenerated into semi-worldly communities causing no little scandal, and soon afterwards passed away.

Theodore had set himself to increase the Episcopate and make better provision for a supply of parochial

clergy. He did not, of course, institute the parochial system, which was of slow growth. But he laid down lines on which subsequent Churchmen worked. At first district churches were built on the domains of the great cathedral and monastic establishments, which were served by clergy from these bodies. This appears from the enactments of a provincial council held at Cealhythe under Archbishop Ecgbehrt in A.D. 747, which show that collegiate and conventual establishments had erected churches on their lands and served them through priests of their own bodies; and also that the lands of lay proprietors had at that time begun to be divided into districts by the bishops and committed by them to the pastoral care of selected priests. These districts were called priestshires or kirkshires; for the term parish in those days, in accordance with its original meaning, was used exclusively to denote the diocese of a bishop.[1] The clergy appointed to each such church would consist of a mass-priest and his deacon, with perhaps an acolyte and one or two clerks. A lodging would be required for these, and also for the reception of travellers, since hospitality to strangers was a recognised obligation of the clerical office. Each diocese was in process of time divided into small Ecclesiastical districts, in which churches were built and resident ministers assigned to them. Even before the end of the eighth century we find that the existence of a church on the land of the proprietor became a necessary qualification for the rank of a thegn. There can be no doubt that a large proportion of such clergy were married men.

[1] See Lingard, 'A.S. Church,' vol. i. p. 144. In Saxon times the word *preost* denoted any one in holy orders, *mæsse-preost*, one who was in Priest's orders. To prevent confusion, it is well to bear this in mind.

The complaints of the decay of religion to which we have referred apply both to the parochial clergy and to the monastic establishments. These latter, which, in the opinion of the time, represented the purer form of Christianity, had been founded on the rule of St Benedict of Nursia, Abbot of Monte Cassino, the father of Western Monachism. The *Regula Monastica*, which he drew up for the brethren of his house, was so judicious and comprehensive that it speedily became the model for all subsequent foundations. It reflected the mild and contemplative spirit of its author, and though prescribing a life of daily industry as well as prayer, it allowed considerable latitude to the Abbot in the way of variety or relaxation. Its great merit was that in addition to manual labour it recognised the value of reading and writing as powerful agents in distracting the mind from unholy thoughts; and, by its sanction given for the first time to study, prepared the way for those literary pursuits which afterwards developed themselves so largely within convent walls. For those who were incapable of mental exertion the mechanical exercise of copying manuscripts was imposed as part of the daily task. Benedict's consideration for the well-being of the brethren and the usefulness of their occupations marks him out as a man of true enlightenment, and places him in favourable contrast with the greater number of his successors. Yet it may be doubted whether he did not err to some extent in the latitude allowed by his system. The severer demands of later opinion were dissatisfied at any rate with it. Towards the end of the eighth century his namesake of Aniane, seeing the abuses arising from laxity of administration, set himself to remedy them by introducing a much stricter and less elastic rule.

His efforts met at first with strenuous opposition, but his earnestness and singleness of purpose gradually prevailed; and at the great Council of Aachen held in A.D. 817, convoked by Lewis of France, the assembled Abbots promulgated seventy canons based on the old Benedictine rule, but supplementing it in every case where it was open to uncertainty, and rigidly prescribing tasks for every portion of the waking hours, which were to be enforced by the most stringent discipline. A system like this which treated intelligent men as inanimate machines could scarcely be expected to be permanent. After the first enthusiasm had abated, the old laxity reappeared, and Odo of Clugny, Bernard of Citeaux, and other reformers had to do over again the work that had fallen into decay.

The individualism for which the English nation is conspicuous contributed to a lax interpretation of the obligations of monasticism. Not only had professed monks and nuns forsaken the severity of the earlier practice, but abuses had grown up which threatened to do away with the association of religion with restrictive vows altogether, and to obliterate the distinction between the spiritual and worldly life. This was largely traceable to a change that had taken place in many of the more important religious houses by the conversion of the conventual and collegiate clergy into secular canons. The introduction of this change is ascribed to Chrodegang, Archbishop of Mentz, in the middle of the eighth century, who, however, intended it not as a movement towards laxity, but as a reformation of discipline. He assigned to the Cathedral clergy, whom he called Canons, the observance of the daily hours, a common refectory and sleeping-chamber, and many other of the regulations of St Benedict. They

were still to be bound by the vow of continence, but not by those of poverty or implicit obedience. This system found considerable favour in England ; but the attacks of the Danes had dispersed many of these communities, and their members, returning to family life, had imbibed from it a love of pleasure and desire for independence incompatible with monastic rule. On the restoration of tranquillity they were indisposed to resume their former restraints, and dividing among themselves the revenues of their churches, they lived in separate households (*familiæ*), and took no other religious responsibility beyond assisting daily in public worship.

The general increase of self-indulgence was partly due to the increase of wealth. In spite of the frequent local disturbances, there is sufficient evidence that when the Danish attacks began, England was a decidedly wealthy country. The iron-mines of Sussex, the tin and lead-mines of the West, were highly productive. Silver was also found in remunerative quantities. A considerable part of the surface was still covered with forest, but cultivation had largely extended its area, and through the example of the early monks its methods had been greatly improved. The natural propensity of our race to indulge in material comfort took free course. The strictness of community life became everywhere relaxed. Men and women of good birth associated themselves in monasteries or nunneries so called, without any intention of submitting to regular discipline. In many cases the local thegn made himself Abbot of the house he had founded, and gathered round him a society that was hardly distinguished from that of the world. Men and women of good position sought in such communities

repose from the fatigues of active life, and substituted an ideal of stately comfort for that of poverty and devotion. Before the time of Alfred the restraints of monasticism had become so distasteful to Englishmen that in all Wessex not one free-born man could be found willing to assume the habit. It does not appear, at any rate until after his time, that there was any widespread immorality, unless the irregular marriages of the clergy be considered as such. The impression that is left upon us is rather that of worldliness and self-indulgence than of the more flagrant forms of vice. Learning had all but ceased: the great schools of the North had been extinguished, and few could even read. The Danish inroads did but accelerate a process already begun, and bring home to men's minds by the harsh lessons of misery and suffering the need of reconstructing their religious life and learning the true secret of God's service.

Alfred's reform at the outset took of necessity a monastic direction. The single life was universally regarded as higher than the married. In order to serve God it was considered necessary to forsake the world. And though the ordinary clergy whether of cathedrals or parishes were obviously engaged in the service of God, yet in popular estimation they fell short of holiness, and were probably not regarded with great spiritual veneration. But if they failed to awaken the awe which surrounds the cloistered life, they obtained a very strong hold upon the people's affections. Bound up with their daily life, dwelling in their midst, familiar with all their concerns, resorted to for instruction not only in religion but in the arts of life, the preceptors of their children, the umpires in their quarrels, the champions of their rights against

oppressive superiors, small wonder if their own moral and intellectual standard were reflected in that of their flocks. Where they were lax or ignorant, the people were sure to be so too. The priest's position from an early period had its secular as well as its religious side. The process, indeed, by which the old Saxon *tun* or township passed into the parish is very obscure, but it is probable that by the beginning of the ninth century the Church had everywhere become the centre of village life. The estate of the manorial landlord coincided with the jurisdiction of the folk-moot, which answered to the two organisations of the civil township and the ecclesiastical parish. The spiritual aspect, however, overshadowed the civil: the moot became merged in the vestry, the annual village feast in the dedication festival, the town-reeve was displaced by the parson (*persona*), who, as chairman of the parish vestry, still presides over the most ancient institution of English public life.

The maintenance of the resident clergy was in the main provided by the offerings of the people. The duty of giving a tenth of one's substance to God was generally recognised by Christian believers, though it was not yet enforced in England by authority. The offerings of the faithful had been originally entrusted to the Bishop, who, with or without the assistance of his Chapter, divided them according to a certain proportion between Church, clergy and poor. This apportionment was confirmed by a Witan held in A.D. 1013. The legal recognition of tithe in Europe dates from the eighth century, and in England was adopted by a legatine Council as early as A.D. 787. Almost all the laws passed after Alfred's death allude to this obligation, and those of Eadgar mention the times of

year when it was payable and to whom it should be paid. Not till some centuries after was it laid down that the parochial clergy should have the first claim upon it.

But these measures of the State do not imply that the tithe was regarded as part of the State's revenue, or came under the category of public funds, or that it was of the nature of salary paid in return for service done. These are modern misconceptions due partly to the changed conditions of our life, and partly to the needs of political ingenuity. The opposite statement would be nearer the truth, that tithe was from the first regarded as the inalienable property of the Church, in return for which the duties of religious ministration were required to be performed, just as in the case of landed proprietors the tenure of their estate involved its corresponding responsibilities. It was not even necessary that the clerical duty should be performed in person. So long as it was efficiently done, the Chapter or other body that owned the tithe might provide a deputy to do it. The only requirement was that the duty should be discharged.

Besides their portion of the tithe, the Clergy were entitled to certain dues, of which we meet with the following: Cyric-skeat, or Church-scot, a sort of commutation for first-fruits paid by every householder; Sawl-skeat or Soul-scot, a sum payable on a person's death; Plough-alms, a penny from every plough-land at Easter, and Leot-scot, a half-penny-worth of wax for lighting the Church from every hide of land.

But the endowment of parochial cures by the chief landlord of the district was at an early date looked to as the best security for the parochial system. Endeavours were made more than once to compel any lord who

desired an ecclesiastical district to be founded on his property to make a suitable provision in land for the maintenance of Church and Clergy. In a canon which goes under the name of Archbishop Ecgbehrt of York, we find the following enactment: 'Let an entire manse (*i.e.* dwelling-house with glebe annexed) without secular service be assigned to each Church, and let not the mass-priests appointed in Churches render any other than Church-service from the tithes or oblations of the faithful, or the buildings, courts and orchards adjacent to the Church or manse aforesaid. But if they hold anything more than these, then let them render to their lords the service due by custom.'

In all such cases we may assume that the Church belonged to the lord, and the ownership remained with him and his heirs, unless he parted with it to some Abbey or Bishoprick. With him, too, lay the right of nominating the incumbent, who would be chosen out of the Episcopal monastery or chapter. Afterwards, when priests were ordained to be attached to other bodies, the lord might bargain with them for their remuneration, in which case they became in a sense his vassals.

On the whole it would appear that the people, then as now, had their religion at little cost to themselves. The priest's duties, if strictly performed, were many and varied. Besides those we have already mentioned, he was called upon to attend the annual Synod of the diocese, to maintain his church in good repair, to furnish it with all necessaries, to preserve the ornaments, to keep the canonical hours, to attend the sick and hear confessions according to the directions of the Penitential, which had been introduced by Theodore, and revised from time to time by provincial Councils. He was further expected to teach his clerks Latin, and to

instruct the children of his parishioners without exacting a fee.[1]

The clergy were recruited partly from the ordinary ministers, partly from the schools attached to the monasteries, and partly from the great Cathedral centres, where young men of good birth were received and trained for the ministry. One feature of this clerical training deserves to be mentioned, namely the practice of some handicraft, which was founded on the example of St Paul, and existed as a general recommendation for some time before Dunstan thought fit to make it compulsory. It was a relic of the old monastic life imported into a wider sphere.

The English Church had been from the beginning sound in the Catholic faith. No heresies disturbed its orthodoxy. The profession of pure Catholicity made by Theodore at his first Council in the name of all England was honourably made good. St Swithun of Winchester, in his subscription of allegiance to Archbishop Ceolnoth bears striking testimony to this fact. He says: 'The genuine orthodox faith which our fathers before us have devoutly kept, this faith I with all humility and devotion, even as my predecessors who have been subject to the holy See of Canterbury, do profess that I will hold fast in all points.'

One of these points was the due observance of Sunday, which was regularly enforced as a day of rest and worship. The grounds on which its sanctity was

[1] In the author's parish of Ewelme, there is an ancient grammar-school founded in A.D. 1436 by the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk, to which an endowment is attached for the free education of all the children of the village. It would appear as if the ancient custom of the priest giving them instruction without fee had dropped out, and it was determined to secure its revival by a special provision.

enjoined are these: that on that day God began His work of creation, on that day the Lord rose from the grave, and on that day the Church had its birth. The Sabbatical aspect of the doctrine is not alluded to, though it underlies some of the enactments. The State forbade labour, traffic and travel, and occasionally also, field-sports. The name given to Sunday was 'freolsung,' the day of freedom: it was counted at first from sunset on Saturday till sunset on Sunday, but afterwards extended until the Monday morning. The clergy were instructed to devote the whole day to worship and religious meditation; the laity to attend high-mass at terce or mid-day, and not to break their fast till it was over.

The Church's system covered all the more important aspects of life. Infants were baptised as early as possible after birth. The sacrament was performed by threefold immersion in the font, and was secured from neglect by heavy penalties to the priest and the discipline of the Penitential to the parent. The Holy Eucharist, then popularly known as Handsel, had at first been enjoined on the faithful as a weekly act of worship. But even in Bæda's time we find that it had ordinarily declined to three observances in the year, Christmas, Epiphany and Easter, a falling off which he deplores.

The moral and religious life of the people was regulated by the Penitential.[1] The original penalty for all offences had been a graduated scale of fasting before readmission to communion. This was after-

[1] *i.e.* a set of regulations made for the guidance of Confessors that they might act in the spirit of the ancient canons. Various compilations had been made in different churches, but the one adopted by the English Church was that of Archbishop Theodore.

wards made redeemable by acts of mercy to the Church or poor. In process of time a table of pecuniary equivalents for penitential compensation was issued, which by favouring the wealthy, led to much abuse. In the case of public crimes a public penance was required. Offenders attended on Ash-Wednesday in the Church porch, and were then introduced to the Bishop, who placed sackcloth and ashes upon their heads, and sent them forth from his presence to fast until Maundy Thursday, when they were readmitted to the Church's grace. This impressive custom will come before us in the history in connexion with St Anselm and the dissolute young nobles of Rufus's court.

In criminal charges where the guilt of the accused could not be clearly proved, recourse was had to the Divine decision by means of Ordeal. After swearing his innocence on the holy elements, the person charged was led to his trial, which might be either by the corsned or barley-cake, by cold water, by hot water or by hot iron. The first of these consisted in the accused chewing a piece of barley-cake, which was expected, if guilty, to choke him. The second consisted in his being lowered with hands bound into a pool of water, in which, if innocent, he sank, if guilty, floated. The third was the plunging of the naked arm into a caldron of boiling water and drawing out of it a mass of heated stone. The wound was immediately bandaged by the priest, and after three days the accused was pronounced guilty or innocent according as the wound remained open or closed. The fourth form was the taking up and carrying for three prescribed steps a bar of red-hot iron. The same precautions were observed as in the last-mentioned process of ordeal. Each trial was accompanied by a special

religious service, and prepared for by prayer and fasting on the part of the culprit.

A very important privilege of the Church in connexion with crime or violence was the right of sanctuary. This appears first of all in the cities of refuge appointed in the Pentateuch, and in the custom of taking hold of the horns of the altar which is mentioned several times in the Old Testament. It was in use also among heathen nations from an early time, and Constantine transferred the right of asylum from the temples of the gods to the Christian Churches. The Church in England willingly adopted this merciful custom. The fugitive from tribal vengeance was secure within the protection of the sacred precincts, but only until sufficient time had elapsed to enable him to prepare his compurgation. King Alfred fixed this at three days: afterwards it was extended to a week, then to nine days, and at last to an indefinite period which might be protracted or curtailed according to the sovereign's pleasure. When private blood-feuds ceased, and the law was able to assert its power, the privilege of sanctuary had outlived its utility and had become an abuse.[1]

No sketch of the relations of Church and people should omit the immense influence of religion in awakening the sense of beauty and the appreciation of artistic excellence among an illiterate but not unresponsive population. The primitive places of worship had been rude structures of timber, without pretensions to elegance of form or ornamentation. But as soon as the Saxons either through pilgrimage or the arrival of foreign teachers had become familiar

[1] In all this portion of his subject the writer is much indebted to Lingard's 'History of the Anglo-Saxon Church.'

with the superiority of continental architecture, they zealously seconded the efforts of their leaders to erect edifices more worthy of their sacred destination. Within a century after St Augustine handsome Churches were rising up in several districts of England. Foreign artificers were introduced, and the native workmen soon learned from them the principles of artistic construction. The labours of Ealdhelm Bishop of Malmesbury and others in the South, and of Wilfrith and Benedict Biscop in the North, are gratefully recorded by their biographers. And besides the improvement in architecture, a new era began for the decoration and furniture of the Churches. Polished marble pillars, carved capitals, and stone mouldings began to be seen. Glass was introduced first by Wilfrith, as well as a covering of lead for the roof. Ornamental work in brass and iron was an accomplishment that soon found a congenial home in our country. Within the period of this volume the native artificers attained great skill in this department, as well as in the finer work of the gold and silver-smith. Even before Alfred's time the larger Abbey and Cathedral Churches must have afforded no mean education for the eye, and when the vestments, paintings, sacred vessels and other treasures are considered, must have furnished in a rude way the opportunities for improvement of taste in art which our modern museums and picture-galleries so abundantly supply.

The cultivation of Church music had always been well-loved in England, and was undoubtedly a powerful agent in stimulating devotion. The frequent references in early writers to its exceeding sweetness, and the delight it gave to some of our foremost saints indicate a high level of vocal excellence, if not of artistic pro-

ficiency. On the æsthetic side of our nature there can be no doubt that the Church's influence was then, as it continued to be for centuries, not only the most operative, but almost the only one that had any real effect; and that in divine worship both ear and eye drew from their surroundings an unconscious susceptibility to spiritual beauty which greatly determined the people's attitude to religious truth.

Such is a very brief sketch of the leading features of the religious life of England, as it had existed during its healthy development under the Heptarchic kings. It had now become, as we have seen, infected with decay, and its condition called loudly for redress.

The natural machinery for effecting this redress would have been the ecclesiastical councils. But during the time of storm and stress that had lowered over the country, no thought of Church Councils could be entertained. The history of these assemblies in England had been peculiar. When first introduced by Theodore they had been strictly confined to the Bishops, and had been arranged to be held every year at a place, now unidentified, called Cloveshoo. This, however, proved a counsel of perfection, which even Theodore, with all his energy, was unable to realise. Within a generation or two they seem to have lost their distinctive character, and to have been merged to a great extent in the Witan or general council of the realm held in each Kingdom. In these assemblies the King and the nobles sat with the Bishops, and ecclesiastical canons were passed at the same time as secular enactments. The consent of King and Witan to the Church's legislation was highly valued. Besides the Bishops, Abbots were present, at least such as lived within reach. There was no friction or jealousy between the civil and

religious spheres. The lay element confirmed the spiritual decrees, and the bishops took part in the political debates of the Witan. Religion, morality and law were not distinct spheres of life, separated from one another, but rather different aspects of the same great whole. The Christian conception of man's duty underlay the entire fabric: and in order to understand the reforming measures undertaken by Alfred, this must be carefully borne in mind. To the consideration of these we shall now proceed.

CHAPTER III

THE REFORMS OF ALFRED

WE have given the reader a cursory sketch of the religious life of England and the Church's organisation for promoting it up to the time when both were overwhelmed by the catastrophe of successful invasion. At the close of his wars, Alfred was left in a better position than he could have expected. After the treaty of Wedmore, the Danish settlement or Danelaw comprised the three great districts of Northumbria, East Anglia and Eastern Mercia, the latter being known as the five Boroughs. The Eastern Kingdom was taken over by Guthrum; another Danish King ruled over Northumbria with his capital at York; while the five Boroughs were governed independently of the rest by their own Jarls. Broadly speaking, the Danelaw included half of England. The other half, containing Wessex, Kent and Western Mercia, found itself under the dominion of Alfred. The whole of Wales, Cumbria, and to a great extent Cornwall, were still in British hands. Alfred was now able to approach the task on which he had set his heart, the regeneration of the national life within his own dominions.

To a mind so fundamentally religious there could be no hard and fast separation between things secular and sacred. He declares his conviction that if men will take Christ's golden rule as their foundation, they will know how to give a right judgment in all things. He

is of opinion that no judicial book is needed beyond the Gospel principle that no man should judge against another what he would not in similar case wish to be judged against himself. Alfred found, however, as might be expected, that this simple rule did not go very far. He complains, with pathetic earnestness, not so much of the unfairness as of the ignorance of those whom he appointed as administrators or judges. To summon assemblies of men without knowledge would be of little use. He saw that it was necessary to begin at the beginning, and that the first object of a Christian king's reform must be to educate his people.

From his point of view religion included not only divine worship and holiness of life, but such things as made both possible, good legislation, good literature, science and art. With this wide and statesmanlike outlook upon life, he proceeded to his work.

He saw around him hardly any instruments ready to hand. The mass of the laity had reverted to barbarism, the clergy were lazy or illiterate, the monastic orders practically extinct. It was necessary to call in helpers from outside, and this he at once set himself to do.

It will be remembered that he had succeeded in rescuing Western Mercia from the grip of the Danes. The wisdom of this step now became apparent, for this was the district from which he drew some of his most efficient helpers. Within its confines there still lingered some remnants of the old piety and learning. It was there that Plegmund lived, a learned hermit, who in the evil times had abandoned his solitude, and moved from place to place among the scattered folk, comforting them by the Gospel message. There also dwelt Werfurth, Bishop of Worcester, a noble-hearted

man, who had continued all along to maintain his school of sacred learning, two priests of which, Æthelstan and Werwulf, were among his most eminent helpers. All these the King imported into Wessex, and enlisted their abilities in his great work. He sought also the co-operation of a Welsh Bishop, or more probably a monk, named Asser, from the cathedral of St David's, who became his intimate friend and biographer. Asser was at first unwilling to leave his native land. His ties there were numerous, and the clergy looked to him for protection from the hands of royal robbers. But the King's pleadings prevailed so far that he consented to spend half of each year at Alfred's court, either continuously or in periods of three months. After their first interview, however, a long illness kept him unable to fulfil his promise for a year and six months. The King sent him a more pressing invitation, and Asser made his way to Leonaford, where Alfred was, and remained at his court for eight months, helping Plegmund to superintend his studies. Ere long he was given preferment in England, and to him we owe the memoir which introduces us to the very heart of Alfred's life. This little book is one of the most precious relics of our early history. Though disfigured by some later interpolations, there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of the main portion of it, or the truth of the picture it draws.

Alfred was one of those who realise that example is better than precept. He determined to practise himself all the duties that he inculcated on his subjects. It was an uphill task. His own education had been neglected at the time when leisure was at hand, and his mind fresh and memory retentive. But now, late as it was, he set himself to learn in right earnest. He

divided his day into three parts, eight hours for the care of the body, eight for business of state, and eight for study. To save precious time, he measured the hours by means of four wax candles made to burn six hours each, and fitted with a lantern-case of transparent horn bound with leather to prevent waste by draughts. His servants were bidden to light these at the proper moment, so that at any hour of the day or night he might find them ready for work. His faithful friends and instructors were always within call. Whatever his occupation, they filled up every vacant moment by reading to him in Latin the Fathers of the Church, the church-history of Bæda, the 'General History' of Orosius or Boëthius's 'Consolation of Philosophy.' His biographer tells us that at this time he had not yet begun to read; but this must be interpreted of Latin reading, for there is no doubt of his ability to read his own tongue. In this way he became to some extent a Latin scholar, and was able, with assistance, to translate Latin books.

But this by no means satisfied him. His strong common-sense made it clear to him that if the people were to be truly educated, they must be provided with books written in their own tongue. Hitherto nearly all the literature that existed was in Latin. Certain strains of native poetry had indeed been heard, some of them of no mean inspiration, and it had been the King's delight from his boyhood to commit to memory these old Saxon lays. Legend recounts that once, disguised as a glee-man, he had made his way into the enemy's camp and gained a welcome from the fierce chiefs by his tuneful minstrelsy.

But if English verse existed, English prose had hardly yet begun. Alfred realised his opportunity,

and with the eye of a patriot and a statesman resolved to give his people a literature of their own.

The first book he took in hand to translate for them was Pope Gregory the Great's treatise on the Pastoral rule (*Regula pastoralis*), to which he wrote a deeply interesting preface. In this preface he allows us to enter into his mind and listen to his aspirations for the good of his people. Often as it has been quoted, we think our readers will be glad to hear something of what the King says. 'Would that there were more wisdom in this land, and that we knew more languages! Then I considered how the Law was first found in the Hebrew tongue; and again, how the Greeks learned it and translated it all into their own speech; and also the Latin people afterwards, as soon as they had learned it, translated it all through wise interpreters into their own tongue; and, moreover, all other Christian peoples translated some part of it into their own languages. Therefore it appears to me better, if you so think, that we also, having some books which seem most needful for all men to understand, should translate them into that language which we can all understand, and cause, as we easily may with God's help, if we have the leisure, that all the youth that is now in the English nation of freemen, such as have wealth to maintain themselves, may be put to learning, while they can employ themselves on nothing else, till first they can well read English writing. Afterwards let people teach further in the Latin tongue those whom they will ordain to higher degree. When I thought how the learning of the Latin tongue before this was decayed through the English people, though many could read English writing, I then began, among other divers and manifold affairs of this Kingdom, to translate into English the

book which is named in Latin *Pastoralis*, and in English *Herdsman's book*, sometimes word for word, sometimes meaning for meaning, as I learned it of Plegmund my Archbishop, and of Asser my Bishop, and of Grimbald my Presbyter and of John my Presbyter. After I had learned it so that I understood it as well as my understanding would allow me, I translated it into English; and I will send one copy to each Bishop's See in my Kingdom.'

Nor did the royal book-maker confine his efforts to theological treatises. He translated Boëthius's *Consolatio philosophica*, at that time one of the most valued aids to men's higher life; selections from Bæda's 'Church History,' which he interspersed with political and moral reflections; and the 'Universal History' of Orosius, to which he added a preface on Geography.

In all these works he throws off the King and speaks to the reader as man to man. But a still more striking proof of his genius is shewn by his remodelling of the old Chronicle, which in his hands and for some time after him became the most authentic source of English History. A bare annalistic record of public events had existed in Wessex from the time of Birinus till the death of Ine, written in Latin and known as the Bishop's Roll. This had been revived under Ecgbehrt, and considerably amplified by Swithun of Winchester, who gathered together many early traditions as well as materials for the history of his own time. It was this Roll that now blossomed out into a spirited original narrative, which gave a wholly new power to the English tongue. There can be little doubt that a large part of the Chronicle for Alfred's reign was written by himself. The impulse he thus gave bore rapid fruit. Not only was the Chronicle continued after his death,

but an outburst of literary productiveness in the vernacular ensued, wholly without parallel among Continental nations, bearing witness to the inspiring power of the King's example. Theology began to appear in an English dress. Portions of Scripture were given into the people's hands. Even works of medicine were done into English. A generation or two later, Ælfric's English Homilies appeared and won immediate popularity. The style of all those writings is not modelled upon the Latin, but has a genuinely native ring. Mr Sweet remarks that the descriptions of historical events in the Chronicle develop gradually from the abrupt style of conversation to a high degree of refinement and polish, yet without any imitation of Latin models.[1]

With all this intellectual and literary enthusiasm, so congenial to his artistic temperament, he combined the most indefatigable attention to public business. He reorganised the army on a fresh basis, built and maintained an efficient fleet, instituted an annual estimate of his expenses, which is the first English Budget, and assigned a methodical distribution to the royal income.[2] Moreover he promulgated a code of laws, which though called by his name were not devised by himself, but selected out of the best existing precedents, and enforced by a constant appeal to the principles of the Gospel. Asser tells us of his unwearied diligence in revising judicial decisions; how he encouraged all who were dissatisfied with them to

[1] See Green's 'Conquest of England,' ch. iv.

[2] The apportionment is said to have been as follows: $\frac{1}{8}$ to the military and civil services: (it must be remembered that the main cost of war still devolved on the burghs and townships, otherwise the above proportion would have been much too small:) $\frac{1}{6}$ to public works: $\frac{1}{6}$ to diplomatic expenditure: $\frac{1}{8}$ to the poor; $\frac{1}{8}$ to the spread of education: and $\frac{3}{8}$ to ecclesiastical offerings and endowments.

appeal to him, and how carefully he instructed those magistrates who had erred through ignorance, or punished such as from any other cause had perverted judgment.

But above all he made it his object to restore religion. The monasteries which still existed were in a state of decay. No free-born Englishmen were found willing to take the cowl. The long prevalence of laxity and independence had indisposed men from placing themselves under any strict rule. The King's efforts at first met with little or no response from his own people. Grimbald, prior of St Bertin's at St Omer, a monk celebrated not only as a theologian but also for his knowledge of Church music, was summoned to his side. The King was projecting the foundation of a new Minster in his capital city, and had his eye on Grimbald as the fittest man to inaugurate it on the lines laid down by combining his spiritual duties with educational work.

With Grimbald came John of Old Saxony, whom the King placed as Abbot over the monastery he founded at Athelney to commemorate his refuge during the dark days of disaster, and the subsequent turn of his fortunes. The house was recruited with priests and deacons from the Continent, who are spoken of by later writers as regular monks, but from the above description are more likely to have been secular clerks.

John was a man of exemplary learning and great holiness of life, but he was by no means fortunate in his rule. Asser relates the story that two of the brethren who were Franks and fretted under his discipline conspired against his life, and incited some of their lay attendants to murder him. It was the good

Abbot's practice to visit the chapel at dead of night for private prayer, and the men took advantage of this to attack him; but he defended himself with courage, and though severely wounded, was not killed.

Another John is also mentioned in connexion with Alfred's court, though not on such good testimony, viz. John the Scot, better known as Erigena, who is said to have been invited by the King and appointed over the monastery at Malmesbury. John was one of the most celebrated philosophers and scholars of the age, a man of independent mind, who translated from the Greek the works attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite. He too, according to the story, was unfortunate in the exercise of his authority. His pupils mutinied, and are reported to have stabbed him to death with their stiluses or iron writing-pens.

Asser himself received sundry benefactions from the grateful monarch. He mentions the two houses of Angresbury and Banwell in Somerset as his first preferment. Afterwards he was granted the episcopal supervision of the district of Devonshire, which had a certain undefined jurisdiction over Cornwall, though it does not seem certain that Asser was actually consecrated Bishop of the See. No doubt Alfred hoped that a Welsh bishop would be acceptable to the Celtic inhabitants. Some historians are of opinion that his appointment was to the Western portion of the See of Sherborne as co-bishop with Wulfsige, and that on the death of the latter, he took over the entire diocese. At any rate he held the See of Sherborne during the latter years of his life.

The hospitality of Alfred's court was open to all those foreigners who were able and willing to further his aims. Men came to him from many lands, Franks,

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Frisians, Gauls, Danes, Welshmen, Scots from Ireland, and even Bretons; and all received a welcome, and were proud to count themselves as his subjects. The King's affability and warmth of heart gained him the loyal devotion of his officials. 'He loved his bishops,' says his enthusiastic biographer, 'and all his clergy. The sons of his nobles he trained and educated as if they were his own; and Æthelweard his youngest son was brought up among them, and the King imbued them all with the love of letters.' To Alfred it seemed the peculiar privilege of the Church of Christ to enlighten men's minds.

The process of founding monasteries was by these methods advanced in different parts of the kingdom. Religious houses for women were also established. These did not present the same difficulty as those for men. One of them was at Shaftesbury in Dorset, and over this he placed his daughter Æthelgifu: another was at Winchester, and called the Nunna Minster, situate near the Old Minster, in the administration of which his wife Ealhswith took a leading part. The rule under which these ladies lived was partially monastic, but the vows were remissible under certain circumstances by the consent of the King and the Bishop.

Alfred was firmly resolved to appoint as Bishops none but learned men. Unfortunately very few such were available. The King laments the general illiteracy of the clergy in these words: 'Very few on this side Humber can understand their rituals in English or translate them out of Latin into English, and I ween there are not many beyond the Humber. So few of them were there, that I cannot bethink me of a single one south of the Thames, when I came to the Kingdom.' The result was that very few appointments were made.

In A.D. 889 Æthelred of Canterbury died, and Alfred offered the post to Grimbald, who declined it. His choice then fell upon Plegmund, his instructor and chaplain, and he accepted the offer amid universal satisfaction. The Chronicle says of him: 'This year Plegmund was chosen of God and all the people.'

It was considered necessary for the English Archbishops to make the journey to Rome in person in order to obtain from the Pope their pallium, the emblem of archiepiscopal authority. Plegmund received his from Pope Formosus, who after his death was tried and condemned by Pope Sergius III. for uncanonical migration from his See, and all his acts were pronounced invalid. This necessitated on Plegmund's part a second journey to Rome.

He held the primacy for four and twenty years, and his administration, though hampered by the want of suffragans, was eminently wise and successful. On Alfred's death he was called upon to consecrate no less than seven Bishops, so grievous had been the loss to the Church from scarcity of qualified men.

This incident leads us to remark on the great advance of the royal prerogative both in Church and State. The King had gathered to himself much of the authority which under the older constitution had been shared by councils or lay-assemblies. This was not so much the result of direct policy as part of a great social change which was coming over English life. The same tendencies, which on the Continent were producing the feudal system, had shewn themselves in England. The smaller free-holders had been compelled by the stress of invasion to become the "men" of their wealthier neighbours. The greater lords in their turn became the 'men" of the King, bound to him by ties of

personal service: and thus the King's power was strengthened, and he was able to dispense with the formalities which in earlier times had accompanied episcopal appointments. The phrase "*my* Archbishop, *my* Bishop," coming from the lips of a thoroughly popular and constitutional king, plainly reveals his sense of sole responsibility in the matter.

Engrossed as Alfred was with the affairs of his own Church and Kingdom, he was by no means unmindful of the claims of the Church outside. In A.D. 887, the year in which his own course of studies began, he sent Æthelhelm, Earl of Wiltshire, to Rome with an offering from King and people; and again in the following year, and once more, in A.D. 890, similar offerings were dispatched oversea. These payments, though not as yet held to be obligatory, were yet of the nature of dues, and in the next reign were enforced by law under the name of *Rom-feoh*, or Peter's Pence.

But the King's sympathies extended further still. As far back as A.D. 883, out of gratitude, it is said, for his wonderful deliverance, he had sent alms to the Christians of India, where a Church had existed for centuries, of which the reputed founder was the Apostle St Thomas. In return for this gift he had received from the reigning Pope the privilege of exemption from toll for the Saxon School at Rome, where pilgrims from England had been accustomed to lodge. And later in his reign we hear of letters and gifts from Abel, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, as an acknowledgment of alms sent him by the King.

A life so strenuous as this was not likely to be prolonged. His health, never robust, failed him and he died at the comparatively early age of fifty. Shortly before his death he said to his friends, 'My chief desire

is to leave to the men that come after me a remembrance of me in good works.' None can doubt that this pious wish has been abundantly fulfilled. He did not, indeed, live to witness the effect of his reforming measures. He complained mournfully and not without reason, of the apathy of those whom he had tried to rouse to high ideals. Nor would it be just to measure the value of his work by its visible results. It is his character and his example that form his greatest gift to England, and no Englishman can contemplate them without a thrill of gratitude and pride. In the annals of our Church and lands he holds and must ever hold the noblest place. No vice, no serious fault of any kind, is imputed to him. He spent himself ungrudgingly for his people's good. In many ways reminding us of David, as warrior, statesman and artist, his patriotism, unlike David's, was unstained by any single deed of wrong. And while David's crimes were forgotten by a grateful nation for the glories of his reign and the love he bore his people, Alfred's truly Christian kingship needs no apologetic gloss, no merciful erasure of its records. It stands forth in our history as the most inspiring chapter of it, the type to all time of the greatest of opportunities used to the utmost by one who, trusting in God, shewed himself in everything right worthy. He was laid to rest in the Old Minster in the city of Winchester, until such time as the New Minster planned by him and erected by his son, should be ready to receive him.

CHAPTER IV

THE SUCCESSORS OF ALFRED

ALFRED was succeeded by his son Eadward. The succession had been disputed by Æthelwald, a son of Æthelred; but his claims were rejected by the Witan. He then offered his services to the Danes, and was accepted by them as under-king, in which capacity he caused Eadward much annoyance until his death in A.D. 905. Eadward inherited only a portion of his father's literary talent, but was almost his equal in military and political capacity. He was the first to style himself King of the Anglo-Saxons, by which expression is meant to be conveyed not the blending of the two races into one, according to the modern erroneous interpretation of it, but the Imperial character of the King's sovereignty as extending over both races, so that the same monarch was in Wessex ruler of the Saxons and in Mercia of the Angles. His Mercian sovereignty was greatly strengthened by the splendid capacity and martial heroism of his sister Æthelflæd, known as the Lady of the Mercians, who on her husband Æthelred's death undertook the government of the sub-kingdom. It was she who subdued the five boroughs of the Danelaw, Derby, Leicester, Stamford, Lincoln and Nottingham, and thus enabled the King to control that part of England.

The Church on his accession was, as we have remarked, inadequately supplied with Bishops. A story

was current in the eleventh century that three years after Alfred's death Pope Formosus wrote to Eadward complaining that the West Saxons had been left for several years without a bishop, and threatening excommunication. The story as it stands cannot be accepted, since Formosus died in A.D. 896. It arose no doubt from a confusion between the fact that Plegmund had received his pallium from Formosus[1] and the fact that owing to that Pope's condemnation after his death by Sergius III, Plegmund was obliged to undertake a second journey to Rome to procure the confirmation of his position and of the validity of his ordinations. This was effected in A.D. 908, when Plegmund carried Eadward's offerings to the Pope, and obtained his consent to a scheme for increasing the Episcopate. Into this scheme the King readily entered. He and Plegmund reorganised the Church in Wessex on the basis of its shires. The two sees already in existence were Winchester and Sherborne. To the former Frithestan, afterwards known as a saint, was appointed; to the latter Wærstan. The new sees followed the existing tribal divisions. One was assigned to the Wilsætas or men of Wilts, another to the Somersætas or men of Somerset, another to the men of Dyfnaint (Devon) including Cornwall, which was not furnished with a bishoprick of its own (St Germans) until A.D. 930. The Bishops' seats were fixed at Ramsbury,[2] Wells and Crediton. It is related that Plegmund consecrated seven bishops in one day, the five above enumerated, and one each to the ancient Sees of Dorchester in Mercia and Selsey in Sussex.

[1] See also the letter referred to on page 52.

[2] The See of Ramsbury, which is sometimes spoken of as that of Sonning on the Thames, included the counties of Wilts and Berks.

The system of dividing the country into shires, which had originated in Wessex, was now carried forward in other parts of England, though by no means yet in its entirety. The earliest shires to receive names were Hants and Wilts, each of them called not after the tribe but after its chief township: and the fact that these townships were in the one case Southampton (and not the capital Winchester) and in the other the quite insignificant city of Wilton, is a decisive proof of the antiquity of the designations. The later-formed shires of Wessex mostly take the name of the tribe inhabiting them, as Somerset, Dorset and Devon, from the Somersætas, Dorsætas and Dyfnaint. Kent retained throughout its original name. Berkshire and Surrey were descriptive titles, the former from its abundance of box-trees,[1] the latter from its slope along the south ridge of the river valley. The shires of Mercia which were formed during this and the succeeding reign were regularly named after the chief town in each. The four East Anglian shires keep their early ethnical designations, North-folk, South-folk, Essex and Middlesex; as also does Sussex. Already in a certain number of instances, these divisions were co-extensive with a Bishoprick; a system congenial to English ideas, which has been revived and is being successfully extended in our own day.

Eadward was thrice married, and brought up a large family, whom he caused to be carefully educated, his desire being to make his children examples of Christian life to the people. Three of his sons reigned after him,

[1] So says Asser, quoting the name Bear-roc (=*buxus* or box). So far as the writer is aware the existence of the box in the county in a wild state is unknown. Is it possible that the birk or birch is the tree meant, which grows abundantly in Berkshire?

and all were supporters of the Church. One of his daughters became a nun at Wilton, which had been an ancestral appendage of the royal estate, and to which many ladies of noble birth were attracted, and she, together with a sister who had also renounced the world, was buried there.

William of Malmesbury in his chronicle of this reign relates a pretty story of Eadburh, Eadward's youngest daughter, who when scarcely three years old, gave a striking indication of her future sanctity. Her father wished to try whether the heart of his little child was more inclined to God or to the world, and placed in a chamber the symbols of both professions; on one side a chalice and the Gospels, on the other bracelets and necklaces. Hither the child was brought in the arms of her nurse, and sitting on her father's knee, was desired to choose which she pleased. Rejecting the earthly ornaments with stern regard, she instantly fell prostrate before the chalice and the Gospels, and worshipped them with infant adoration. Her father embraced her with these words, 'Go, my child, whither the Divinity calls thee: follow with prosperous steps the Spouse Whom thou hast chosen; and truly blessed shall thy mother and thy father be, if we are surpassed in holiness by our daughter.'[1] She took the garb of a nun in the Minster at Winchester, and became famous for the sanctity and humility of her life. About a century after her death her remains were translated to the monastery of Pershore in the pleasant vale of Evesham, which enjoyed a long prosperity owing to the evidences of her saintship.

Eadward carried out his father's pious intention of erecting a new Minster in his capital city. This, when

[1] See William of Malmesbury, Book ii. ch. 13.

finished, was dedicated by Plegmund, and placed under the rule of Grimbald, as Alfred had designed.

All regular Church Councils had been discontinued during the Danish troubles. But Eadward in conjunction with Plegmund gave careful attention to ecclesiastical legislation, which was in each case passed by the King and his Witan in the presence of the Bishops. At one of these councils the payment of tithe was for the first time enforced by penalties, both in the English kingdom, and in the Danelaw.

In A.D. 914 Plegmund died and was buried in his Cathedral after a long and useful tenure of his great office. He was succeeded by Æthelhelm, better known as Athelm, a man of noble birth, who had been appointed to the newly-created See of Wells five years before. His primacy was uneventful, and in A.D. 923 he was succeeded by Wulfhelm, who also came from Wells, and went to Rome for his pallium in A.D. 925.

In A.D. 924 King Eadward died, and was succeeded by his son Æthelstan. One of Wulfhelm's first public acts was the solemn coronation of the new king at Kingston. There can be no doubt that previous Kings had been similarly crowned, though we have no express description of the ceremony. In the inventory ordered by the Commonwealth to be taken at Westminster, there is included among other antiquities the crown of King Alfred. But there was a special significance in the present ceremony, since doubts had been cast, apparently not without good reason, on the legitimacy of Æthelstan's birth. The story, which is highly romantic, is found in the pages of William of Malmesbury, and, according to him was popularly believed. But the commanding qualities of the King and the splendour of his reign amply justified his selection by

the Witan to sit on Alfred's throne. It is an impressive fact that the Coronation Service of our sovereigns has remained in substance unaltered for more than a thousand years. Maskell in his *Monumenta Ritualia* gives the office from the Pontifical ascribed to Ecgbehrt. The act of homage and the oath of fealty had not yet been introduced into it, but the King's oath included a promise to protect the Church's and the people's peace, to forbid rapacity and iniquity, and to secure equity and mercy in judgment.

These promises the King did all in his power to fulfil. His first efforts were directed to consolidating his supremacy over the whole kingdom. He married one of his sisters to Sihtric the Northumbrian King, after whose death, not long subsequently, he was compelled to reduce the province by arms. But he strengthened his policy in the North by large benefactions to the Church, and by securing the allegiance of the Archbishops of York, whose political as well as spiritual influence had been greatly increased in the Danish domination. The most eminent of these prelates was Wulfstan, who as long as Æthelstan lived, remained loyal, but after his death was the cause of many difficulties.

The King's reign was an illustrious one. Unfortunately our records of it are not as full as we could wish. The Saxon Chronicle, which relates his father's history with striking richness and vivacity, now becomes curt and meagre. It is evident, however, that Æthelstan firmly grasped and consistently carried out the policy initiated by Æthelwulf, of entering into closer relations with the Continent. The reader will remember that Judith, Æthelwulf's widow, after the death of her second husband, had married Baldwin I, Count of

Flanders, by whom she had a son who became Baldwin II. To this prince Alfred had given his second daughter Ælfthryth (Elfrida), thus inaugurating that long intercourse between England and the Low Countries which was to be of such immense value to both. Eadward had followed his father's example by uniting two of his daughters to foreign potentates, and this policy was now systematically extended by Æthelstan. Cynewald, Bishop of Worcester, was sent by him to visit the German monasteries of Old Saxony, bearing rich presents from the Court. This mission, besides its religious significance, had a political motive. It was connected with negotiations for the marriage of Eadgyth, one of the King's sisters, to Otto, son of Henry the Fowler, King of the Saxons and future Emperor of Germany. The wedding took place in A.D. 930, and the English-born Queen lived to gain the devoted affection of her subjects.

Another of his sisters, Eadhild, the youngest and most beautiful, also made a distinguished marriage. William of Malmesbury relates in eloquent language how Hugh, Duke of France, and subsequently father of Hugh Capet, desiring her in marriage, sent a magnificent embassy under Adulph son of Baldwin of Flanders to promote his suit. 'The King and nobles received him at Abingdon, where he produced such liberal presents as might justify the most boundless avarice; perfumes such as had never been known before; jewels, but more especially emeralds, the greenness of which, reflected by the sun, illumined the countenances of the bystanders with agreeable light; many fleet horses with their trappings, champing their golden bits; an alabaster vase exquisitely chased, and so clear and polished that it reflected the features like

a mirror; the sword of Constantine the Great, with one of the four nails driven into our Lord upon its hilt; the spear of Charlemagne, and many other relics of priceless sanctity and worth. The King, delighted with such great and exquisite presents, made an equal return of good offices, and gratified the soul of the longing suitor by a union with his sister.' Such is the historian's glowing description, taken, no doubt, from a contemporary hand.

Another event worthy of mention is the embassy despatched to France to negotiate for the return of Lewis II, named Outremer, from his exile at the English Court. He was the son of Eadgifu, the King's sister, who had been married during Eadward's lifetime to Charles the Simple, and together with her son had spent several years in England. The conduct of this embassy was entrusted to Oda, Bishop of Wiltshire, whose diplomatic talents and high character brought it to a successful issue. Lewis was accepted by his countrymen and crowned King at Laon.

Oda, or Odo as he is usually called, had a remarkable career. He was of Danish birth, the son of a heathen father, who on account of the boy's Christian convictions treated him with great harshness, and compelled him to flee from home. He found a friend in Æthelhelm, ealdorman of Wiltshire, who adopted him as a son, and though the youth's tastes were military, had him educated as a clerk. Eventually he took Priest's Orders. Soon after this he accompanied his patron on a journey to Rome, during which Æthelhelm was seized with dangerous sickness, and thought himself at the point of death. He recovered, however; a result which he attributed to the unwearied care and still more to the intercessions of his young friend; and

on his return recommended him to the King for advancement. He found favour at Court, and in A.D. 926 was promoted to the Bishoprick of Ramsbury or Wilts, and selected, as we have seen, for diplomatic negotiations. His after career will shew the great services he rendered to the Church.

Though by profession a man of peace, he accompanied the King in his campaigns; and at the great battle of Brunanburh, where Æthelstan crushed the power of Olaf of Northumbria and the Scottish monarch, he was instrumental in saving the King's life. In the heat of the engagement the sword had fallen from the King's hand, and Oda restored it to him. We may feel some surprise at the presence of ecclesiastics on the field of battle. But such instances were not infrequent. Theodred of London who was named 'the Good,' together with other prelates, accompanied Oda on this campaign, and one at least met his death there. It must not be supposed however that these churchmen necessarily fought as warriors. Ealhstan had done so, but such instances were rare. As a rule they carried no weapon, but confined themselves to encouraging the fighting men, and performing the offices of religion before and after the conflict. In later times it became not uncommon for bishops to wear armour and take their part as combatants.

The See of Winchester was at this time fortunate in its occupants. St Frithestan, desirous of a life of prayer, retired from his duties in A.D. 931, and Beorstan, who likewise became known as a saint, succeeded him. He died in A.D. 934, and was succeeded by Ælfheah the Bald, who was venerated for his strictness of discipline and holiness of life; and from the influence he exercised on the leading reformers of the next generation, he has been

justly regarded as the originator of the great monastic movement.

One of Æthelstan's measures was to renew the provision made by his father for the maintenance of the Church, which it is clear must have proved ineffective. During the period of unsettlement those who held estates chargeable with tithes to parishes or other benefices had neglected to pay them. Several of the monasteries had suffered from this cause. The clergy now petitioned the King to remedy their grievance, which he did by confirming the penalties under which the payment of tithe was already enforceable. At the same time he placed the collection of Rome-Scot or Peter's Pence on a fresh basis.

The origination of this payment is traditionally ascribed to King Ine of Wessex: but what he really did was something quite different. While on pilgrimage to Rome, he observed that the English visitors were without a place of entertainment, and founded with the Pope's consent a hostel called the Saxon School, which he endowed from his royal revenue. Towards the end of the eighth century Offa King of Mercia, while making an atonement at Rome for his crimes, promised a yearly pension of three hundred and fifty mancuses[1] to the Church of the Apostle, which he paid till his death. He is also said to have levied a tax of one penny on every household in the kingdom for the support of the Saxon School. There is evidently some confusion between the two contributions. The administration of Ine's fund was placed in the hands of the Roman clergy, who, on the cessation of Offa's bequest after his death, may have converted it to the use of the Papal

[1] A mancus was the 8th part of a pound = 2s. 6d. But a mancus of gold was much more valuable.

See. King Æthelwulf had followed Offa's example in leaving a legacy to the Church of St Peter; but this, again, was a personal gift. Frequent offerings to the Roman Church were sent during Alfred's reign: but it is not until the reign of his successor that the term *Rom-feoh* or *Rom-scot* is employed. It seems by this time to have assumed the appearance of a tribute due from the English Church to its spiritual superior. Evidently this was the footing on which William the Conqueror accepted it, when reproached by Pope Gregory for not having paid it; for he acknowledges it as a long-standing custom which was not open to dispute. We shall probably not be far wrong if we assign the devolution of its original purpose from the Saxon School to the Papal See as having taken effect before or during the reign of Æthelstan.

Æthelstan was a generous benefactor to the Churches of Wessex as well as to those of Northumbria. He specially favoured the Abbey of Malmesbury, the seat of his patron-saint St Ealdhelm; and this explains the ardent panegyrics heaped upon him by the monkish historian of Malmesbury. He founded the Abbey of Michelney in Somerset, out of compunction, it is said, for having compassed the death of his brother the Ætheling Eadwine. It is far from probable that the King was guilty of this crime. All we know for certain is that Eadwine was involved in some disturbances in Wessex, and that the King found it necessary to order his banishment. The ship in which he sailed was lost, and the young prince drowned.

The reign of Æthelstan is depicted by the Chroniclers as the zenith of the fortunes of Alfred's house. He was successful in his wars, firm in his government, and prudent in his alliances. The grace of his person was

commensurate with his mental gifts. A story is told that his grandfather Alfred, moved with admiration for the boy's astonishing beauty and grace of manners, took him in his arms, and prayed earnestly that he might live to reign in England as a great and prosperous King. He made him a knight at an unusually early age, gave him a scarlet cloak, a belt studded with diamonds, and a Saxon sword with a golden scabbard.

The charm of manner which had distinguished his early years remained unchanged by the greatness of his fortune. To the clergy he was humble and affable: to the laity mild and pleasant: to the nobility, from respect to his dignity, somewhat reserved: to the lower classes kind and condescending: beloved by his subjects from admiration of his fortitude and humility, but terrible to those who rebelled against him. Such is the picture drawn by a discriminating hand of a monarch whose powerful personality draws into itself the greater part of the history of both Church and realm.

He died at Gloucester in A.D. 940, and was succeeded by his brother Eadmund, a youth of eighteen, who was at once called upon to face a second uprising of the recently conquered North, rendered more formidable by the support of the Danelaw south of Humber. The Northman Eric, who had acted as deputy-king since the battle of Brunanburh, turned out an irreclaimable pirate and marauder.[1] His subjects rebelled: he fled the country, and Olaf, the former king, returned, and rallied round him a formidable host. Among his

[1] His wife Gunhild, whom he had taken from among the Lapps, was reputed to have learned the arts of witchcraft in Lapland, and to act always as her husband's evil genius. She was cordially hated by the people.

supporters was Wulfstan, who had held the Archbishoprick since A.D. 934, and who, as we have stated, had remained loyal to the House of Wessex as long as Æthelstan lived. This was a serious misfortune for Eadmund, since the position of the Northern Primate had now become one of commanding power, sufficient to turn the scale at a crisis. The extremely scanty supply of Bishopricks in the North, together with the constant changes in government had thrown political as well as spiritual predominance into his hands: and Wulfstan was not a man to stand aloof. The motives that actuated him at this juncture are not clear: but he threw over his former allegiance and espoused with energy the cause of the rebellious Northmen. Their host made a successful descent into mid-Britain; and in A.D. 943 the King found himself obliged to agree to a peace negotiated between the two Archbishops, by which Olaf consented to receive baptism and acknowledge Eadmund as his nominal over-lord, but was left virtually independent, and so the great work of the preceding reign was for the time undone.

Young as he was, the King shewed no inferiority to the great princes of his line either in political or military capacity. In internal affairs he busied himself with effect. Among other things he dealt with the growing scandals arising from the hitherto almost unchecked right of blood-feud, which men began to feel was incompatible with the Christian profession and a common national life. One of his laws enacts that 'if any man slay another, he is to bear the feud himself: and if his kinsmen forsake him and will not help him to pay the full *wer* (*i.e.* compensation), they are to be out of feud, provided they do not give the culprit food or protection. And if any man take venge-

ance on any save the actual doer of the deed, he is to be out of the King's peace.'

This law reflects the greatest credit upon the King who passed it: for nothing is more difficult than to change current customs by enactment, and nothing more invidious. Moreover, it shews that Eadmund's mind was of a progressive order. In laying down the above principles he was paving the way for the more enlightened conception of crime which prevails in modern law, as a wrong committed primarily not against the individual but against the public peace.

Had his life been spared, he gave every promise of a great reign. But it was cut short by his untimely death at the hands of an assassin. He was giving a feast at Pucklechurch in A.D. 946, when in the midst of the banquet a robber named Leofa, whom he had banished, broke into the hall, and rudely seated himself at the royal board. The cupbearer strove to eject him, and Eadmund himself rushed forward to give him help: but the murderer succeeded in driving his dagger into the young King's heart.

One of Eadmund's ecclesiastical appointments was the translation of Oda to the metropolitan See. This he did in A.D. 942, and in the following year had selected Dunstan for the Abbacy of Glastonbury. To him therefore belongs the credit of recognising the merits of these two eminent men, whose names are linked together in the great monastic revival, which will form the subject of the two following chapters.

CHAPTER V

THE HOUSE OF WESSEX AND THE RISE OF DUNSTAN

IN what is, or was until recently, the popular conception of English history, the name of Dunstan stands for the embodiment of monkery in its most aggressive form. He has been depicted as in his earlier years a gloomy recluse, haunted by visions of the Evil One, stamping out with relentless self-discipline all the softer affections; and afterwards, when exalted to the highest place, as a tyrannical bigot, forcing his monastic rigorism upon an unwilling clergy with unscrupulous zeal, and even conniving at deeds of violence on any that were bold enough to thwart his will. The historical Dunstan by no means answers to this exaggerated picture. Like all great men, he held strong views, and did his best to enforce them. But the contemporary records are silent about those features which have seized on the popular imagination. They depict him as earnest, indeed, in the carrying out of his spiritual reforms, yet not unmindful of expediency even in them, but still more conspicuously eminent as the wise statesman who guided the progress of England's unity during two important and eventful reigns.

With Dunstan's name that of Glastonbury will ever be associated. This venerable spot, England's earliest sanctuary, hallowed by the legendary visit

of Joseph of Arimathea, has of late years been picturesquely recalled to our interest by the pilgrimage of Bishops from the Lambeth Conference of A.D. 1897 to pay their tribute of reverence on behalf of the Anglican Communion to the traditional resting-place of the conquered Christianity of old Britain. Still more recently has its interest been enhanced by its acquisition through the bounty of Churchmen as a perpetual possession of the national Church of England.

The earliest Church at Avalon, to give it the Roman name so familiar to readers of Tennyson, was constructed of wattle-work. It was known as the *Vetusta Ecclesia*: Gildas, the Welsh historian, and the younger Patrick of Ireland, were buried within it, and for several centuries its humble structure was reverently preserved. To the East of it in British times some local saint built a small church of stone, dedicated to St Mary: and later still, yet before the Saxon came, some pilgrims from North Britain built a third church to the East of the former two.

About the beginning of the eighth century St Ealdhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury and Bishop of Sherborne, advised Ine King of Wessex to build a basilica of stone to the East of the three existing churches, which was dedicated to St Peter and St Paul. The four churches were all enclosed within one wall. Ine's church was called the *Major Ecclesia*, and was afterwards rebuilt on a larger scale by Dunstan. This, together with the original wattled church, was found standing by the Normans, who preserved the *Vetusta Ecclesia*, which was then cased in wood and covered with lead, and erected a new *Major Ecclesia*. Both of these were burnt to the ground in A.D. 1184. The *Vetusta*

Ecclesia was then rebuilt of stone on its old site, and there it stands to-day. The architects then laid out the plans for a great church Eastward of it, which was built in the Early English style, and joined on to the *Vetusta Ecclesia* by an Early English building, which served as an extension of the *Vetusta Ecclesia*, and afforded an entrance to the great church still to be seen. Thus, about the year A.D. 1350, the vast edifice was completed, the ruins of which still delight the visitor.[1]

Dunstan was of noble birth. His father Heorstan is said to have been brother to Archbishop Athelm, and his mother Cynethryth was known as a devout lady of high degree. He was born most probably at Glastonbury in A.D. 924, and educated in the Abbey, which in spite of its decayed condition still attracted pilgrims from many parts, and, notably, learned monks from Ireland, to whom it is likely the boy owed his first impressions and first training in religion. His eager thirst for knowledge was as marked as his sensitively spiritual temperament. He grew up with a constant consciousness of the Divine presence, which found expression in visions, dreams and fits of abstraction, as well as in a singular purity of thought and life. Some strange experiences of deliverance from danger were interpreted by him as direct communications from the unseen world, and in the stories that circulated after his death were distorted into grotesque and ridiculous legends.

He was sent as a youth to Æthelstan's Court, but his studious and devout habits made him unpopular with the young nobles, whose ill-treatment finally drove him

[1] See the Bishop of Bristol's paper on the subject. (Church Historical Society's tracts no. 30.)

to seek retirement as a recluse. During his exile from the Court, his thoughts were distracted between the desire for marriage and a secular life, and the promptings towards the monastic profession which increasingly made themselves felt. His irresolution lasted till a severe illness brought him to the brink of the grave. The former pleadings of his relative Ælfheah of Winchester that he should devote his life to God came upon him with renewed force. He received at his hands the order of priesthood together with the monastic habit, and was appointed to officiate in the Church in which he had been baptised. A lady of high birth named Æthelflæd, who was probably his kinswoman, attracted by his earnestness and austerity, chose him as her friend and director, and at her death named him her heir. His father's death gave him in addition an ample patrimony: but he divided both these fortunes between the poor and the Church. During Eadmund's reign he remained at Glastonbury, devoted not only to the study and practice of religion but to those manual and decorative arts in which he attained so high an excellence, and found such abundant consolation in his later years.

In A.D. 942 Eadmund persuaded him to leave his cell and to take up his residence at court; and it was there that he met Oda, to whom Eadmund, with the advice of his Witan, offered the See of Canterbury in that year. The friendship of these two men was fruitful of great results. It was Oda to whom the idea came of qualifying himself for the government of a monastic house by learning the higher rule as it was now practised on the Continent. The Benedictine rule, which had become extinct in England, had

in Flanders and Germany only languished. The monasteries of Flanders were vigorous compared with those of England, while that of Fleury in France was equally superior to those of Flanders. The Continental reform had begun by the substitution of the rule of Benedict of Aniane throughout the monasteries of the Empire for the old rule of Benedict of Nursia, which had laid down excellent general instructions but allowed too much freedom in details of observance. The new rule was found to err even more on the side of excessive minuteness, and was soon set aside. But it gave the impulse to a stronger and more practicable code of regulations, which were adopted by general consent, and formed the basis of the reformed Benedictinism which was to be introduced into England.

The leading champion of this reform was Odo, Abbot of Cluny, who founded the celebrated community of the Cluniacs. He was called in to assist in the reorganisation of the ancient Abbey of Fleury, which under his guidance speedily rose to high renown, and was placed by the Pope at the head of all the monasteries of France. It was to this monastery that Oda of Canterbury sent emissaries to ascertain the correct rule. Having learnt it, he adopted the monkish habit, and settled down in his Cathedral city, where he proceeded to restore the Cathedral which had become decayed. It was about this time that he and Eadmund issued regulations for clerical continency, for the punishment of adultery, and for the due performance of holy wedlock.

Dunstan, young as he was, had evidently secured the Archbishop's confidence. But his enemies at Court prejudiced the King's mind against him, and he

remained for some time out of favour. But one day the King, when hunting at Cheddar, was in imminent danger of being carried by his horse over the cliff. He was preserved, as he believed, by a miracle: and his thoughts turned at once to the man whom he had wronged. He rode without delay to Glastonbury, and then and there named Dunstan as its Abbot. The Abbey was part of the royal estate, and the King had a right to appoint whom he would. He must have felt that this youth of nineteen had in him powers which high position and responsibility would surely bring to the front. Dunstan began the work of restoration immediately; and two years later, when he was about twenty-one, the appointment was formally confirmed. The extent of his reforms at this date is difficult to determine. He had not yet become acquainted with the improved Benedictine rule, though he had certainly assumed the name and habit of a monk. The establishment seems to have been more of a school than a monastery, and the young Abbot took a keen delight in teaching the scholars, who in return regarded him with deep affection, and the tenderness of his relations with them and the rare gentleness of his discipline were long remembered by the schoolboys of England.

We have already mentioned the early death of Eadmund at the age of twenty-five. As his sons were too young to undertake the government, the crown fell to his brother Eadred, who had been Dunstan's playmate as a child, and with whom he was on terms of the most intimate friendship. This was the turning-point of Dunstan's life. With Eadred's accession his career as a statesman begins.

Eadred was a sickly young man, unequal to the rude

feasting that was general in those days, and often incapacitated through illness. But he had strenuous counsellors in his mother Eadgifu, in Æthelstan Ealdorman of East Anglia, and in Dunstan. The latter he appointed treasurer of the royal estates, and shortly afterwards Chancellor. Under this able guidance the King regained the allegiance of Northumbria; and it was on one of his visits to the North that Dunstan saw what he believed to be the incorrupt body of St Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street. Trouble, however, soon arose in that unquiet region. Wulfstan, the Archbishop, who had sworn fealty to Eadred, broke his word, and intrigued with the disaffected nobles to introduce Eric, son of the Norwegian King, as King of Northumbria. The insurrection was not finally subdued until A.D. 954, when the government of the North was entrusted to Earl Oswulf. Two years before, during the progress of the war, the Archbishop had been taken prisoner, and confined in the fortress of Judanburh. At its conclusion he was released from confinement but not allowed to return to his province. A kinsman of Oda's, Oskytel, bishop of Dorchester, was sent to York to take over the Episcopal duties, and on Wulfstan's death he succeeded to the See.

In undertaking his political labours Dunstan was powerfully supported by Æthelstan, whose wealth and influence were such that he was popularly known by the appellation of the 'half-King.' Oda and Dunstan also acted in accord so long as Eadred lived. Though the superior genius of Dunstan has elipsed Oda's fame, he should in justice be allowed a full share of the credit due to a successful administration. His pastoral letter to the Bishops exhorting them to greater diligence and holiness of life, written in stilted Latin, is still

extant; and we know from other instances that he was a stern reprover of sin, not sparing those in high place.

It was probably at Dunstan's instance that the two Archbishops had assisted at Eadred's coronation at Kingston-on-Thames. His hand may also be traced in the solemn proclamation which announced it, which lays stress on the choice of the nobles and the authority of the bishops of the realm. It was ever his desire to consolidate the kingdom under the royal authority, and one great step towards this was the transference of Northumbria to the government of an Earl, and the co-operation of its Archbishop in acts affecting the Church or kingdom.

During these years of political experience Dunstan was not unmindful of his duties as Abbot. He spent a great part of his time at Glastonbury, developing his educational work, establishing a library, and encouraging literary pursuits. Of his love for his pupils we have already spoken. The library he founded was of special interest, owing to the preservation of several books from it till the time of the Reformation, and of a few even to the present day. One of these, containing a curious medley of grammatical and ecclesiastical treatises, bears on its first page a drawing of our Lord, holding in His right hand a sceptre and in His left a book, with a monk kneeling at His feet and asking for 'mercy on Dunstan.' A note on the margin tells us that this was his own work, and designed at Glastonbury. It is now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Another portrait, also by him, of a boy named Wulfrid, perhaps his own brother, is found in the *Liber Sancti Dunstani*, a volume of canons on various subjects. The titles of several other books are known, but no other drawing of

his remains. Samples of his penmanship, however, occur on various charters. He was also well skilled in music, and Eadmer relates that one day, while overcome by sleep during the service, he heard the strains of a *Kyrie*, which on waking he dictated to his assistant, and it was preserved after his death and sung on certain festivals.

His wonderful skill in handicrafts was utilised for the training of his pupils in smith's work and ornamental design. Dunstan laboured at these all through his life. Two of the best-loved adjuncts of Church worship, the belfry and the organ, are indebted to him for improvement. The great bell at Abingdon, noted for its fine tone as late as the twelfth century, was wrought by him. Bells had been for several centuries a feature in our churches, and were at first called *Clocks*, Latinised into *clocca*, for which the equivalent *Campana* came a little later into use. Organs were introduced into Europe from the East, and appear to have been known in England as early as the seventh century, since St Ealdhelm, in one of his quaint Latin poems, speaks of their thousand voices. Some centuries later a monster organ was constructed for the old Church at Winchester, which in A.D. 990 is described by the monk Wulfstan as fitted with twelve upper and fourteen lower pairs of bellows, worked by seventy men! This organ gave the semi-tones, but the number of manuals is not mentioned.

The success of the Glastonbury experiment was the precursor of another almost equally famous. Æthelwold, one of Dunstan's disciples, a native of Winchester, who had been ordained with Dunstan by Ælfheah and followed him to Glastonbury and been made prior, felt so strong a desire for a stricter

discipline that he begged his Abbot's permission to leave England and study the rule abroad. Dunstan, unwilling to lose the co-operation of so active a man, persuaded Eadred to offer him the headship of the ancient but decayed Abbey of Abingdon. Æthelwold accepted the appointment, and took with him from Glastonbury five clerks who formed the nucleus of an influential monastic school, which spread the educational movement thoughout Mercia. The fruits of Alfred's efforts were now becoming apparent. A literary impulse manifested itself in spirited war-songs and fine dirges, which we find embedded in the pages of Henry of Huntingdon and other annalists, as well as in the picturesque legends that clustered round the royal house, recalling in their imaginative beauty those of ancient Rome. This impulse continued in a more prosaic form through a long list of scriptural versions and lives of saints as well as treatises on grammar and popular knowledge.

But the progress of this work was interrupted by the King's death. He had striven courageously against the weakness of his bodily health, and his reign had been on the whole successful. By placing himself, however, too unreservedly in Dunstan's hands, he had given his government a party complexion, and alienated a powerful body of opinion.

No sooner was Eadwig, the late King's nephew, elected to the throne (he was a boy of fifteen), than a court revolution took place. Eadgifu was driven from her position and her property seized. A lady named Æthelgifu and her daughter, who were near of kin to Eadwig, had obtained the chief influence over him. Dunstan maintained his position so far as to be allowed to crown the King: but he was distrusted by

the King's party, and at the coronation feast an irreparable quarrel occurred. Eadwig, instead of remaining through the entertainment and doing the honours to his guests, left them in the middle of the banquet, and was discovered amusing himself in the company of the two ladies. The nobles sent Dunstan and Cynesige bishop of Lichfield to bring him back. Their message was haughtily answered, and the two prelates dragged him into the hall by main force and set him on his seat. It is said that Dunstan threatened Æthelgifu with death, and his conduct was without doubt rude and imperious. The affront was one that the King was not likely to condone, and Æthelgifu persuaded him to act at once against his minister. Dunstan was pronounced an outlaw and driven from the kingdom. He set sail for Flanders, where Arnulf gave him shelter in the Abbey of St Peter at Ghent, which under Abbot Gerard had adopted the new Benedictine rule. This residence of his in Ghent is important for the history, as it enabled him to study at first-hand the system of monastic rule which had approved itself to the leading Continental reformers.

During his exile he kept in touch with his friends in England. Eadwig and his counsellors reversed his policy with results disastrous to themselves. The following year the King's marriage with Ælfgifu, Æthelgifu's daughter, took place in spite of Archbishop Oda's prohibition on the ground of nearness of kin. This step on the King's part caused much displeasure among his kinsfolk. They withdrew their support from him and persuaded his brother Eadgar to share their disaffection. Their attitude was strengthened the following year by the action of Oda in annulling the marriage. The whole land north of the Thames rose

in revolt, and a joint meeting of the Mercian and West-Saxon Witans agreed on a division of the realm. Eadwig was to retain Wessex and Eadgar was to hold the rest.

Next year Oda took a stronger step. The King had still continued to live with Ælfgifu as his wife. The Archbishop now gathered a force together, and seizing the Queen's person carried her out of the country. The King had no choice but to bow beneath the blow. The return of Dunstan, which had taken place as soon as Eadgar was firmly established in his seat, threatened to overwhelm him altogether. For Eadgar's Witan had decided that Dunstan should be raised to the Episcopate. The see of Worcester was conferred upon him, and he was consecrated by Oda. In the following year Oda died, and Dunstan was promoted to the See of London, which he held in plurality with that of Worcester. The Archbishoprick, if not vacant at this time, was at any rate unoccupied, for Ælfsige of Winchester, whom Eadwig had appointed, had gone to Rome for his pallium, and perished in the snows of the Alps. On the news of his death another appointment was made, most probably by Eadwig, of Brihtelm of Wells. The King's death, however, prevented the consummation of the appointment. Brihtelm had supported the anti-Dunstanite policy, and on the succession of Eadgar to the whole kingdom, was at once set aside in favour of Dunstan. The pretext for his deposition was not avowedly political, but was based on his inability to rule. He was sent back to Wells, and Dunstan in the following year sought his pallium at Rome from Pope John XII.

The question arises, What connexion had these political revolutions with the reforming religious

schemes of Dunstan and his party? The answer is not very clear, but it seems on the whole that the connexion was incidental rather than direct. The monastic revival was hardly as yet a matured plan in Dunstan's mind, for he had not until his exile seen it in actual working. At the same time, Oda's sympathies lay that way, and Æthelwold, the most forward of Dunstan's supporters, was known to be strongly in favour of it. There was a general impression that Dunstan was hostile to the existing system and more or less resolved to remove it. This impression combined with his political partisanship to set the great nobles who were of the King's blood against him, and their counsels not only helped to procure his banishment, but had the effect of undermining the influence of his powerful friend, Æthelstan the half-King, who after Dunstan's exile gave up public life and retired to a monastery.

The antagonism of Eadwig and his counsellors to Dunstan's policy naturally threw Eadgar and his supporters into closer union with it. Dunstan therefore felt himself secure of a free hand: and in demanding the King's assistance in his ecclesiastical policy he no doubt relied on his own powers of administration to carry forward not only this, but what he seems to have cared for even more, those great measures which he was devising for the consolidation and unity of the kingdom.

His religious innovations naturally occupy more space in the records of his monkish biographers than his political schemes. But, as has been pointed out by our great historian, it is the King who is ever foremost in spiritual reforms and the prelate who takes the initiative in the great affairs of state.

The position of the Archbishop of Canterbury gave a strong vantage-ground for both these activities, and Dunstan was a man capable and self-reliant enough to avail himself to the full of the opportunities offered. We must reserve for the next chapter an account of how this was done.

CHAPTER VI

THE NEW BENEDICTINISM

DUNSTAN had now attained the summit of his ambition, or, to speak more charitably, had received the reward due to his character and abilities. He determined to strengthen the movement he had inaugurated by the help of Episcopal colleagues on whom he could rely. Fortunately, opportunities were at hand. His own former sees, London and Worcester, were vacant. To the former Ælfstan was appointed, to the latter Oswald, while in the following year his friend and pupil Æthelwold received the prominent See of Winchester.

The career of Oswald was eventful in itself and important for the Church. He was a nephew of the late Archbishop, by whose bounty he had been educated for the priesthood, and assisted in his desire to obtain the headship of the Old Minster at Winchester. After spending some time there, he became dissatisfied with the worldly and luxurious life led by the Canons, and sought Oda's permission to retire for a time to some Continental monastery where a stricter rule prevailed. By his uncle's advice his choice fell on Fleury, the pattern monastery of the time. While there he assumed the monastic habit, and became distinguished for holiness of life as well as for proficiency in all departments of Church music. He remained at Fleury for several years, apparently

contented with his lot, and without any intention of returning to England. But the time came when Oda's health failed, and he felt his last illness approaching. He had a warm affection for Oswald, and desired to see him and lay his last commands upon him before he died. He sent a message requiring his presence, but Oswald arrived too late. He went immediately to the north to seek counsel from his kinsman Oskytel, now Archbishop of York, who persuaded him to remain with him for a time, and introduced him to Dunstan, on whom he made a very favourable impression and who marked him out for preferment.

Oswald, monk as he was, had a gentle and conciliatory temper: and when he came to Worcester, soon made himself beloved by the clergy, who gathered round him in such numbers that he was obliged to send to Fleury for his old comrade Germanus to come and assist him. After a time, he made Germanus Abbot of a monastic house which he founded at Westbury for the instruction and training of young clergy, and which obtained great success. It seems that the new Benedictinism, if temperately urged, was not so unwelcome in England as it undoubtedly became when its introduction was effected by the violent measures of Æthelwold.

It will be remembered that Æthelwold had up to this time been exercising the office of Abbot at Abingdon. Under his headship the conventual discipline had been improved, and the Church rebuilt and richly furnished. But with his transference to Winchester he felt himself in a position to act with greater vigour. He began by asking the King's permission to eject the secular clergy from the Old Minster and replace them by monks. The King at first hesitated. The Chapter

was filled with men of noble birth, whom it might be difficult at once to dislodge. He advised Æthelwold to content himself with expelling the more incorrigible clergy and supplying their places with those whom they had hired to do their work. This plan, as might be expected, did not answer: and at last the King granted the bishop leave to carry out his will. On a Saturday in Lent, attended by a royal deputy named Wulfstan to prevent resistance, he entered the choir, and flinging a bundle of cowls on the floor, gave the Canons the choice between immediate departure and assumption of the habit. A small number accepted his offer. The rest, terrified and helpless, fled from the Church. Æthelwold had provided a detachment of monks from Abingdon, headed by a resolute man named Osgar, whom he had formerly sent to Fleury when himself appointed to Abingdon, to study the rule and report for his guidance. Osgar and his party took the place of the ejected Canons, and the substitution was successfully accomplished, though not without bitter resentment and a suspected attempt on the bishop's life. Osgar not long afterwards returned to Abingdon as its Abbot, and Æthelwold assumed the headship of the Old Minster.

The New Minster, which had been founded by Alfred and completed by Eadward, was also served by secular clergy, and was speedily dealt with in the same way. The canons were, however, allowed a year of grace to prepare for the change. The Nunna Minster was next reformed on similar lines, and an additional establishment of two smaller Abbeys was effected within the city, one for monks and another for nuns.

But the King and his minister had far larger schemes

in view, nothing less than the re-establishment of the strict monastic rule over the whole of England, and they made use of Æthelwold for this object. The Bishop's zeal was indefatigable. He purchased from the King the sites of the royal foundations of Ely, Thorney and Medehampstead (the later Peterborough), and restored them as monastic establishments. Eadgar then gave him authority to visit all the monasteries in the kingdom, and exact compliance with the Benedictine rule. This employment was entirely congenial to Æthelwold. To effect it with more shew of equity, he translated the new statutes into English, so that all might understand their drift; and a little later, prepared a modified rule for English monks founded on that of Benedict of Aniane, which became known as the *Concordia Regularis*, and was accepted by a Council of the Church.

Meanwhile Oswald in his Diocese of Worcester had been carrying out by much gentler methods a similar revolution. In seven of his Churches the Clergy agreed to accept the rule. In the case of the Cathedral he is said to have succeeded by means of a ruse. He built the new Church of St Mary's hard by the Cathedral, and entrusted it to a community of monks, among whom he himself made a point of regularly officiating. The services were frequented by large congregations and became so popular that Wensine, Dean of the Cathedral, thought it best to come to terms. He offered to assume the habit, and several others followed his example. Before long, the number of canons had become so insignificant that the Cathedral passed almost without a struggle into the hands of the monks.

In A.D. 971 Oswald was promoted to York: but according to the bad precedent set by Dunstan, with-

out relinquishing his See of Worcester. It is said that this was by Dunstan's special request, from fear lest, if he left Worcester, his work there might be undone. The real motive, however, was more probably political: for Oswald does not appear to have made any change in the position of the Minster clergy nor, as far as we know, in any other Church of the Diocese.

The portion of England that stood most in need of reform was Mercia. In Wessex Alfred had started measures which though tentative and interrupted might have been developed further without such severe friction as actually occurred. In the North, again, there lingered traditions of the older Church life which could be resuscitated without recourse to violence. But Middle England had been so devastated by the Danish ravages that its intellectual and spiritual conditions had become deplorable, and nothing short of a stringent reformation would have been sufficient to restore them.

During the earlier years of Eadgar's reign we may suppose that owing to his youth the direction of national affairs was mainly in Dunstan's hands. But as soon as his age matured, he shewed himself both earnest and capable in all the duties of a sovereign. He had married early in life the lady Æthelflæd, by whom he had a son Eadward, his successor, and afterwards martyr and saint. After her death, he married in A.D. 965 as his second wife, Ælfthryth, daughter of Ordgar the Ealdorman, who became the mother of his second son Æthelred. It was in the interval before this marriage in all probability that the story of his abduction of a nun from Wilton must be inserted, if indeed there is any truth in it. A later chronicler mentions that Dunstan, on hearing of the offence,

imposed a seven years' penance on the King, and refused to crown him until the period of humiliation had expired. There are grounds, however, for believing that other reasons were present to the Archbishop's mind for deferring the ceremony.

Eadgar's reign was one of prosperity and peace. At his birth Dunstan was said to have heard a heavenly voice foretelling peace to England so long as the child that was born that day should reign and Dunstan live. The circumstances of the time combined with the King's wise rule to bring the nation into one. The Danelaw, which comprised the great Northumbrian Earldom, was allowed to retain its own customs undisturbed. Nevertheless the Danes were rapidly losing their separate nationality and becoming merged in the English people. We have seen Oda, Oskytel and Oswald, all of them Northmen by blood, filled the two chairs of Canterbury and York; and the bestowal of high posts on men of the Danelaw had the effect of infusing new and valuable elements into English life.

In spite of the King's efforts, the monastic revival which he had so much at heart took only partial root. It is said that he founded forty monasteries, and historians point him out as the first promoter of continuous monastic life in England. But when we come to consider the number of houses in the different provinces, we shall find that only in Wessex, East-Anglia, and some parts of Mercia, was the system firmly established. The whole of Northumbria was without a monastery. This can only be accounted for by a lack of enthusiasm among the people at large. The work of the monasteries, which in older times, had promoted so many branches of an infant civilisation, had already been to a great extent superseded by the

growth of progress and the influence of the parish system. The effect of the Danish invasions had, it is true, been very unfavourable to the parish clergy. They had sunk down into an impoverished condition, and the standard of clerical morality had become decidedly low. Vain attempts were made in the laws of the time to rouse them to a sense of the duty of continence, by appealing to the fear of God's judgment and of public disgrace; while within the Danelaw it would seem as if clerical marriage was even legally recognised. The same causes which depressed the lower clergy tended to exalt the higher. The growing power of the King sought an ally in the Episcopate against the ever-increasing independence of the great Ealdormen. Bishops were invested with political responsibilities, enriched with grants of land, and sat in the Witan as equals of the lay Earls. It is to Dunstan more than to any one else that was due the beginning of that association with politics on the part of Bishops, which became more marked after the Norman Conquest, and continued uninterruptedly until the Reformation.

Dunstan's own share in the displacement of seculars by regulars does not seem to have been great, though, as the King's minister, he has obtained the chief credit or discredit of it. As has been stated, he is popularly regarded as the relentless persecutor of the married clergy. But so far as contemporary records bear witness, he does not appear to have enforced any legislation against them as such. It was the presence of secular clerks in Cathedral Chapters and so-called monastic communities that aroused his reforming zeal, and there is no doubt that the greater proportion of the former bodies did consist of married men. Many

of these were charged with far graver acts of incontinence, and had brought morality as well as discipline into disrepute. The ejected and homeless canons naturally represented his action in the most oppressive light, and succeeded in confusing the principle for which he really contended, namely the acceptance by such bodies of the Benedictine rule, with another principle to which he was equally devoted but did not enforce, namely the separation of all persons in orders from their concubines or wives.

The few instances in which we are expressly informed of his personal attitude suggest that, so far from being a persecutor, he was inclined to let things alone. When at Worcester, for instance, he made no attempt to alter the constitution of the Chapter; nor when he went to Canterbury, did he disturb the Canons of Christ Church or turn them into monks.

The culmination of Eadgar's glorious reign was reached in the year A.D. 973, when the ceremony of his coronation was solemnly performed at Bath by the two Archbishops amid a distinguished concourse of the great nobles of the realm. The legendary pretext for delaying it has been referred to. But a better reason is afforded in the desire of Dunstan to put the seal upon his great work of statesmanship by displaying Eadgar as truly King of the whole nation. The reforms so dear to the King's heart had now been practically accomplished. The New Minster had been solemnly dedicated, and the body of St Swithun translated thither by Dunstan, Ælfstan and other Bishops. The allegiance of the Northern Primate had been secured by the questionable but effective expedient of uniting York with Worcester, which was repeated in later days. The power of the great Ealdormen was

exercised in their own dominions with little attempt at restraint, but they were satisfied with a nominal subjection to the Crown, and, so long as Eadgar lived, supported him. Justice was impartially administered throughout the Kingdom, and King Eadgar's laws ecclesiastical and civil were accepted in his lifetime with general approval, and looked back to in after days as the ideal exemplar of English legislation.

Everything seemed to promise a further increase of national prosperity. But all such hopes were cut short by the death of the King two years later. Like almost all the house of Wessex, he lacked the vigour of constitution necessary to carry an active ruler through the labours of a prolonged reign, and he can hardly have been more than thirty-three years of age at his death.

This event was the signal for a fresh arrangement of parties. Ælfhere, Ealdorman of Mercia, set himself at the head of an anti-monastic movement, and restored the seculars in many of the churches of his province. Æthelwine, Ealdorman of East Anglia, aided by Brihtnoth of Essex, espoused the cause of the monks. The religious dispute was complicated by a more serious one regarding the succession. Eadward, the son of Eadgar's first wife, was a boy of thirteen. Æthelred, his son by his surviving Queen Ælfthryth, was a child of seven. It was obvious that neither was yet in a position to rule. Æthelwine, who was related to the Queen by marriage, supported the claims of her son, while Ælfhere strenuously advocated those of Eadward.

Dunstan might have been expected to side with the monastic party. But his patriotism rose superior to such considerations. He knew that Eadgar had named Eadward as his successor in his will, and he felt secure, if Eadward were elected, of maintaining his former

influence. He appealed to his colleague of York to act with him, and Oswald once again shewed his freedom from partisan bigotry by responding to the invitation. By the vigorous action of the two Archbishops Eadward's election was ensured, and he was duly crowned by them in A.D. 976. His reign, however, was destined to be both brief and calamitous. A famine afflicted the country, and the fierce rivalry of the two ealdormen was with difficulty kept in check by Dunstan's moderating hand. Æthelwine and his brother Ælfwold, supported by Brihtnoth, had forcibly resisted the attempts to suppress the monastic houses in East Anglia: and so threatening was the aspect of things that to prevent civil war a great Council was summoned at Kirtlington in A.D. 977, at which the leaders of both parties met in debate. No satisfactory conclusion was arrived at, but the disposition of the assembly seems to have been unfavorable to Dunstan's policy. He arranged for another Witan at Calne in Wiltshire the following year, at which the famous catastrophe occurred, which was appealed to by the Archbishop's panegyrists as the direct interposition of heaven in his favour. The meeting was held in an upper chamber, and an animated discussion was at its height when the floor suddenly gave way, and the greater part of the assembly were precipitated through the ceiling into the basement below. Several were killed or wounded by the fall. Dunstan alone, with one or two of his friends, was left unhurt. He had caught hold of a beam and stayed himself by it on the edge of the flooring. A sinister construction has been placed on this occurrence by some modern historians, as if the accident had been prepared by Dunstan by way of a retort to arguments which he could not answer.

There seems, however, no evidence whatever for suspecting him of so atrocious a deed: and it is but another instance of the prejudice which has hindered in so many quarters an impartial estimate of his character. Florence of Worcester mentions a third Council on the same subject held shortly afterwards at Amesbury.

In the year A.D. 978 the intrigues around the throne culminated in the cruel murder of the young King at Corfe, which was doubtless instigated by his step-mother, anxious to secure the immediate accession of her own son. A later story records how Eadward was returning alone one day from the chase, and was met by Ælfthryth at the door with a cup of wine which she handed to him, and while he drank of it, he was stabbed from behind by a servant at Ælfthryth's command. Though severely wounded, he had just strength enough to spur his horse forward in the hope of joining his companions, but soon fainted and slipped from the saddle, and was dragged through the forest by winding paths, and afterwards tracked by his blood to the spot where he had expired. To the disgrace of his kinsmen and supporters his death was allowed to pass unavenged, and he was buried without royal honours at Wareham. The nation's conscience, however, was stirred at the deed. A revulsion of feeling took place, and the victim of a woman's jealousy was canonised as martyr and saint, and received a place in the Calendar of the English Church which he still holds. The body was translated to Shaftesbury, the Ealdorman of Mercia and the Archbishop assisting at the ceremony.

The accession of Æthelred in A.D. 979 made it clear that Dunstan's services would no longer be required. Nevertheless he acquiesced in the King's election, and

was allowed to place the crown upon his head. The following interesting passage is quoted from William of Malmesbury with reference to the Coronation oath.[1]

'This writing is copied letter by letter from the writing which Archbishop Dunstan delivered to our lord at Kingston on the very day when he was consecrated King, and he forbad him to give any other pledge but this pledge, which he laid upon Christ's altar, as the Bishop instructed him: "In the Name of the Holy Trinity, three things do I promise to the Christian people my subjects: first, that I will hold God's Church and all the Christian people of my realm in true peace: second, that I will forbid all rapine and injustice to men of all conditions: third, that I will enjoin justice and mercy in all judgments, whereby the just and merciful God may give us all His eternal favour, who liveth and reigneth for evermore."'

Æthelred is known as the Unready, or more correctly, the Redeless, *i.e.* the man without good counsel. Unready in the sense of unprepared or shiftless he certainly was not. On the contrary, his intellect was rapid, and his energy considerable. But the King's position in face of the growing independence of the Ealdormen and their mutual jealousies was extremely difficult; and Æthelred lacked the firmness, sagacity and patience which alone could have enabled him to weather the storms that arose. Dunstan found that among the King's advisers there was no place for him. He passes from the scene of political life, and his last years were spent at Canterbury amid the congenial duties of his pastoral office. He may have intervened to secure the election of Ælfheah (better known as St Elphege) to the Bishoprick of Winchester on the death

[1] See Green's 'Conquest of England,' ch. vii. p. 258.

of Æthelwold; and he appeared once again to defend the estates of the see of Rochester from the high-handed action of the King. But the interval before his death was mainly spent in peaceful devotion to religious and educational work. He looked into the condition of the various manors of his Archbishoprick, rebuilt the residences, and added chapels to them. He wrote pastoral letters to admonish or encourage the bishops of his province, one of which, to Wulfsine of Sherborne, is preserved, and well worth perusal. He preached regularly in the Cathedral, where his eloquence gained him the admiration, as his gentleness gained him the love of all his dependants. He pursued his favourite artistic recreations with undiminished zeal, and encouraged literature with his patronage.

The last occasion when he performed the service was on Ascension-Day A.D. 988. It was observed that he preached on the great theme of the festival with extraordinary power in spite of his enfeebled health. After giving the benediction and the kiss of peace, he begged his people to remember him in their prayers when he should be taken from them. The next two days were spent in the solitude of his chamber in preparation for the change. On the Saturday he breathed his last, pouring out his soul in a touching prayer which his biographer has preserved.

Thus died in the sixty-fifth year of his age one of England's great men: one whose memory has lingered among his countrymen, and whose figure, though in a distorted shape, has become familiar almost as a nursery tale.

His worthiest record is found in the peace and prosperity of the reign he guided, and in the just laws for which that reign was famous. The calamities that

began to gather round the kingdom as soon as his firm hand was withdrawn speak no less eloquently of his value to the nation. That he was imperious and intriguing cannot be denied. The hatred he aroused proves him to have been more forceful than scrupulous. But his conception of statesmanship was of a very high order; and though the immediate results of his work were undone, it left, like that of Alfred, permanent traces, which were revived and utilised at a later date.

As a Churchman his work is open to a less favourable judgment. The great reform on which he set his heart was doubtfully fitted to accomplish its purpose, while the violent methods adopted by some of his friends and encouraged by the King, could not fail to produce bitter resentment and to lead to future reprisals. It is true he had no quarrel with the parish clergy. There is no evidence that they were dragooned by him into compulsory submission to his views. But the general drift of his policy unquestionably weakened their influence, and threw an unwholesome predominance upon the monastic side of ecclesiastical life. This is especially evident in the decision made at his suggestion in a council held at Winchester, when it was enacted that where a Cathedral was attached to a monastery the monks should have the right of choosing the Bishop from among the brethren of their own or some neighbouring monastery. It appears strange that King and Witan should have agreed to a proposal which directly tended to diminish their own freedom of choice. It is true that the interests of both were nominally safeguarded. But the subsequent history proves that a strong weapon was now put into the hands of the monks for binding future bishops by a sense of gratitude to the interests of their order.

We cannot acquit the Archbishop of a somewhat narrow conception of the Church's work in the world. The primitive and simpler monasticism was confessedly a need of the times, since it was the only available machinery for implanting in a rude age the arts of civilisation and the blessings of a stable moral life. But the revived monasticism, truly spiritual as were its aims, lent itself only too readily to ecclesiastical ambition and aggrandisement. It weakened the general sense of religion, by making men regard it as a thing apart, fixed by prescribed rule, and only really attainable under the conditions of separation from the world. By the hard and fast line drawn between regular and secular clergy, and the contemptuous disparagement of the latter, a misleading and dangerous element was introduced into men's conception of the Christian life, which, once established, was almost impossible to eradicate, and which we believe has been a source of much injury to religion. For the leading part he took in the introduction of this idea Dunstan will be favourably or unfavourably judged according as men's minds lean towards the ascetic and coercive aspect of the Christian faith or towards its larger and more human influences in the way of persuasion and the example of home religion.

He was succeeded by Æthelgar, one of his Glastonbury pupils, who had been made Abbot of the New Minster by Æthelwold. In A.D. 980 he had been consecrated to Selsey, the See founded by Wilfrith for the South Saxons, now supplanted by Chichester. Here he made no attempt to upset the existing order of clergy. They remained secular all through the changes that ensued; and the old statutes, which were confirmed under Henry II., are still those under which

the Cathedral is governed. He was transferred to Canterbury as a man of wise and conciliatory temper who would continue Dunstan's *régime*, but he died the following year, when Sigeric, another of Dunstan's Glastonbury pupils, was appointed in his place. He had been ordained to the Bishoprick of Wiltshire, founded, as we have said, by Plegmund, which after several vicissitudes, was finally merged in that of Sarum, a century and a half later. Sigeric went to Rome for his pallium, and lodged in the Saxon School. He enjoys the unenviable distinction of having been the first to recommend the King to buy off the Danish invaders with a tribute, a fatal precedent, which had disastrous results.

It was during his Primacy, and by his authority, that the Homilies of Ælfric appeared, a book which gained a popularity hardly inferior to that of their namesake and counterpart, the two Books of Homilies issued under Edward VI.

Who Ælfric was is very uncertain. There was an Archbishop of Canterbury of the same name who succeeded Sigeric in A.D. 996, but there is no good reason for identifying him with the Homilist. There was also an Ælfric, Archbishop of York in A.D. 1002, whose violent character makes it most improbable that he was the peaceful student and thoughtful divine of whom we speak. The name was extremely common at the time; and what evidence we have points to our Ælfric as having held no higher office than that of Abbot of Cerne in Devon.

He was educated in the school of Æthelwold at Winchester, and continued there under his successor Ælfheah until his departure for the monastery of Cerne. While at Cerne, he occupied his leisure by trans-

lating theological treatises into English. His motive for supplying his countrymen with the authoritative works of the Fathers was 'because he had seen and heard of much error in many English books, which unlearned men in their simplicity have esteemed great history.' It must be observed that in censuring the native writers he makes an express exception in favour of Alfred. The literary impulse which the great King had set on foot had evidently taken firm hold: and although few names of English authors of that time have come down to us, we must suppose that quite an extensive literature existed.

The collection of sermons which he issued did not pretend to the merit of originality. They are almost all translated from the masters of the Latin Church, and, so far as the language is concerned, excellently rendered, but he shews an undue partiality for the allegorical method of interpreting Holy Scripture. So well was this volume received that Ælfric followed it up by another, sent, like the first, to Canterbury for the Archbishop's imprimatur. It is in this series that the discourse is found which gives Ælfric his prominence in Anglo-Saxon theology. In his sermon for Easter-Day he puts forth a very remarkable exposition of the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, which would appear to stand alone in the theology of the day. He declares that the sacred elements are in kind corruptible bread and wine, but according to the power of the Divine Word they are in sooth Christ's Body and Blood, not, however, in bodily guise, but after a ghostly manner. The passage is quoted at length in Hook's 'Lives of the Archbishops,' and in Lingard's 'Anglo-Saxon Church,' and is well worth perusing.[1] At the

[1] See Appendix to this Chapter.

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same time it would be an error to suppose that his teaching represents the consistent doctrine of the Church of England in his time. He is indebted for it to Bertram, a monk of Corbie, who wrote about the year A.D. 860, and whose reasoning Ælfric has closely followed.

The encouragement he received led him to extend his compilations to a series of lives of the saints, which so pleased his friend and patron Æthelweard, Ealdorman of Wessex, that he insisted on Ælfric's undertaking a translation of several portions of the Old Testament. To this task he applied himself at first with some misgiving, but gradually warmed to his subject, and strove by his renderings of the Books of Judges and Kings and the Wars of the Maccabees to rouse among his countrymen the patriotic fire that had burned so nobly in the breasts of the Jewish heroes.

Another and more original work of his was an explanatory account of the Old and New Testaments, which comprises all the books that were afterwards embodied in the Canon of Trent. Such a popular introduction to the study of Scripture must have been highly useful, and the interest it aroused was widespread. Other writings of his are of less importance, such as the Episcopal charges for Wulfsine of Sherborne and Wulfstan of York, and pastoral letters condemning the sin of drunkenness and the marriage of the clergy. He tells Wulfsine that he writes in English that every one may understand him. Certainly he makes his meaning plain enough, though making a questionable use of texts to enforce it. In inveighing against the married clergy, he rests his argument not only upon the law of the Church and the example of the Apostles, which is assumed; but on the express enactment of

the Lord in the words, 'Whoso hateth not his wife, is not a minister worthy of Me.'

It is partly from this letter that we gather the round of duties that was expected of a parish-priest in those days, which has been already referred to in the second chapter. The duties of the other orders of the ministry are also laid down by him. While he allows the Bishop the highest governance in things ecclesiastical, he points out that there is no real difference of order between the Episcopate and the priesthood, but only the authority to ordain, confirm, consecrate Churches, and take care of God's rights. Of Ælfric's later life we have no notices, nor is the year of his death known.

NOTE ON ÆLFRIC'S HOMILY FOR EASTER-DAY

This homily of Ælfric's is so interesting as a popular comment on an abstruse subject, and presupposes so much intelligence among his English readers, that a quotation of the Eucharistic passage referred to in the text may be welcome. It is copied from Hook's 'Lives of the Archbishops,' under Ælfric of Canterbury.

'Now certain men have often inquired and yet often do inquire how the bread which is prepared from corn and baked by the heat of fire can be changed into Christ's Body, or the wine which is wrung from many berries can by any blessing be changed into the Lord's Blood. Now we say to such that some things are said of Christ literally, others typically. It is a true and certain thing that Christ was born of a maiden, and of His own will suffered death, and was buried, and on the third day rose from the dead. He is called Bread typically, Lamb, and Lion, and whatsoever else. He is called Bread because He is the life of us and of Angels. He is called a Lamb for His innocence; a Lion for the strength wherewith He overcame the strong Devil. But yet, according to true nature, Christ is neither Bread, nor a Lamb nor a Lion. Why then is the holy housel called Christ's Body or His Blood, if it be not truly that which it is called? But the bread and the wine

which are hallowed through the mass of the priests appear one thing to human understandings without, and cry another thing to believing minds within. Without, they appear bread and wine both in aspect and taste; but they are truly, after the hallowing, Christ's Body and Blood through a ghostly mystery.

'A heathen child is baptised; but it varies not in its aspect without, although it be changed within. It is brought to the font sinful through Adam's transgression, but it will be washed from all sins within though it be not changed to aspect. In like manner the holy font-water, which is called the well-spring of life, is in appearance like to other water and subject to corruption; but the might of the Holy Ghost approaches the corruptible water through the blessing of the priest, and it can afterwards wash body and soul from sin through ghostly might. Lo, now we see two things in this one Creature. According to its true nature water is a corruptible fluid, and according to a ghostly mystery has salutary power. In like manner if we behold the holy housel in a bodily sense, then we see that it is a corrupt and changeable creature; but if we distinguish the ghostly might therein, then we understand that there is life in it, and that it gives immortality to those that partake of it with faith. Great is the difference between the invisible might of the holy housel and the visible appearance of its own nature. By nature it is corruptible bread and corruptible wine, and is by power of the Divine Word truly Christ's Body and Blood, not however, bodily, but spiritually. Great is the difference between the Body in which Christ suffered and the Body which in the housel is hallowed. The Body verily in which Christ suffered was born of Mary's flesh, with blood and bones, skin and sinews, with human limbs, quickened by a natural soul. And His Ghostly Body, which we call housel, is gathered of many corns without blood and bone, limb-less and soul-less; and there is therefore nothing therein to be understood bodily, but all is to be understood spiritually. Whatsoever there is in the housel which gives us the substance of life, that is from its ghostly power and invisible efficacy; therefore is the holy housel called a mystery, because one thing is seen there and another understood. That which is seen there has a bodily appearance, and that which we understand therein has ghostly might. Verily Christ's Body which suffered death and from death arose will henceforth never die, but is eternal and impassible.

The housel is temporary, not eternal, corruptible and distributed piecemeal, chewed between teeth and sent into the body, but it is nevertheless by ghostly might in every part all. Many receive the holy Body, and it is nevertheless in every part all by ghostly miracle. Though to one man a less part be allotted, yet there is no more power in the greater part than in the less, because it is in every man whole by the invisible might. This mystery is a pledge and a symbol. Christ's Body is truth. This pledge we hold mystically, until we come to the truth, and then this pledge will be ended. But it is (as we have said) Christ's Body and Christ's Blood, not bodily but spiritually. Ye are not to inquire how it is done, but to hold in your belief that it is done.'

CHAPTER VII

THE NATIONAL DECAY

EVEN before the time of Æthelred we meet with indications of a change in the social conditions of the people, which carried with it the seeds of exhaustion and decay. So far back as the reign of Alfred we had occasion to dwell on the decline of learning and religious zeal. This process had continued until the vigorous efforts of the Benedictine reformers had to a certain extent checked its advance. But these were too partial and external to prove an adequate remedy. Larger causes were at work which penetrated to the roots of the people's life. The chief of these was the steady diminution in the number of free ceorls, who had been the backbone of the English nation, and held their land under the old system of common ownership by the folk. The proportion of folk-land or land thus owned by the free-men, to boc-land or land held by a charter from a lord, had been gradually decreasing, until at the time at which we have now arrived, the immense majority of the free cultivators had declined into the position of villeinhood. It had become acknowledged that no man could hold his own except under the protection of a lord, to whose court and not to his folk-mote he now looked for the preservation of his rights. The position and power of the manorial lords had therefore greatly increased, thus effecting a change in the balance of the social system.

The same tendency that elevated the lesser thegns applied with equal force to the greater nobles, and these again gathered round the provincial ealdormen, who were rapidly acquiring a position almost of independence. The social change brought in its train a political change. The power and rivalry of the Ealdormen menaced the King's authority, and threatened to wreck the unity of the State. The King endeavoured to counteract this danger by appointing as Ealdormen men who owed their position to his favour alone, and would therefore find their interest in supporting his prerogative. But the disintegration had proceeded too far to be arrested. The political tendency to disruption was not controlled by religious earnestness or patriotic zeal. Every organ of the national life had come to suffer from isolation or enfeeblement, and though material prosperity remained, the higher spirit which alone makes it worth having, had well-nigh died out.

Thus everything seemed to conspire towards external interference as the only force powerful enough to restore a healthier tone. The Danes, who for three-quarters of a century had on the whole maintained peaceful relations, once more appeared as invaders. Their country had silently grown into a compact power under the strong hand of Gorm, who had succeeded in bringing its nobles into subjection to himself. Various attempts had been made to extend the dominion of Denmark on the Continent, but they had all failed; and Swein, son of Harold Bluetooth, had vowed that he would conquer England. In A.D. 991 a body of Vikings landed in Essex, and defeated Earl Brihtnoth in a pitched battle, in which the Earl was slain. Æthelred's advisers counselled him to secure immunity

from further attack by purchasing the goodwill of the invaders. A sum of £10,000 was agreed upon, in consideration of which they agreed to place their services at his disposal for defence against his foes. The King, however, determined to take further precautions against the danger he foresaw. He turned to Normandy, which under the able rule of William Longsword and Richard the Fearless had been consolidated into a powerful duchy. A treaty was made between the two states, which resulted ten years later in the momentous step of Æthelred's marriage with the Duke's daughter Emma. This union was a departure from the traditional relations of England with Flanders established by Alfred, which were calculated to serve as a counterpoise to Norman influence. By introducing a Norman Queen Æthelred inaugurated that intimate connection between the English and Norman Courts which was to lead to his son's expatriation among Emma's kindred and the establishment of a Norman Duke upon the English throne. For the moment the plan answered. The King, confident in his new alliance, and wearied with the exacting behaviour of his Danish auxiliaries, issued orders for their assassination. The secret was well kept; the Danes had no suspicion, the King's orders were readily obeyed, and carried out to the letter on St Brice's day (Nov. 13, 1002 A.D.).

The next year saw Swein's first descent upon England, which would probably have been successful had he not been recalled by an insurrection at home. The King now realised his danger, and at once took measures for the better defence of the country. He raised Eadric, a man of great ability but low birth, to the ealdormanry of Mercia, gave him his daughter to wife, and entrusted him with the chief authority. A fleet

was prepared, to provide which a new system of taxation was introduced, in the form of a ship-levy, known from its object as the Dane-geld. This was in substance a land-tax raised by the royal reeve in each shire, and based on the extent of each man's landed estate. It was found a convenient and workable impost, and was continued for fiscal purposes long after the need of its first destination had passed away. Indeed, with some modification, and with the addition of a tax on personalty in the time of Henry II., it formed the basis of our regular taxation all through our history until the commencement of the eighteenth century.

But this organisation came too late to be effective. In A.D. 1010 Thurkill ravaged a great part of England, and the King again purchased his withdrawal by a still heavier tribute. There was some delay in the instalments that were due, and Thurkill retaliated by laying siege to Canterbury, and possessing himself of the Archbishop's person as security for payment. The story is one of the most touching in our annals. The saintly prelate, whose early austerities at Bath and subsequent administration of the See of Winchester had matured the firmness of his Christian character, stood forth as the fearless champion of the sufferers, and sternly rebuked the cruelty of their captors. They silenced his appeal, seized him and carried him off to their ships as a hostage, demanding as the price of his liberty an exorbitant ransom, which they hoped to secure by compelling him to surrender the Cathedral treasure. For seven months the Archbishop was dragged about from port to port or left to languish in prison. But they vainly hoped to break his constancy. Unmoved by threats, he returned words of Christian charity to

the reviling of his enemies, who eager as they were for blood, were still more eager for gold. At length, at the Easter feast, when the hall at Greenwich was filled with a riotous and drunken mob, the Archbishop was brought before them and greeted from every side with shouts of 'Gold, Bishop, give us gold.' He replied, 'I have no other gold to offer than the gold of true wisdom, the knowledge of the living God.' The revilers, furious at his calmness, hurled him to the ground, and snatching up the ox-bones from which they had stripped the flesh for their savage meal, pelted him with them, till one of their number, in pity for his sufferings, dealt him the death-blow with his battle-axe. He is said to have been a noble whom Ælfheah had won over to the faith, and though ill-instructed in the spirit of the Gospel, he made such return as his half-heathen gratitude inspired. We read that after the murder the Danes were seized with remorse. They gave up his body for burial in London, where it was laid to rest beside the Bishops of London and Dorchester. Within ten years it was conducted with all pomp, lying in state on the barge of a Danish King, to the Cathedral of Canterbury, and solemnly deposited by the side of Dunstan, his already sainted predecessor.

Without further delay the tribute was paid: and Thurkill consented to remain in the King's service. But the avenger of St Brice's massacre was on his way to our shores. No sooner had Swein's army landed than the fiction of a united Empire vanished, and within a few months Æthelred had sent off his wife and her two sons to Duke Richard at Rouen; and he himself, after taking refuge for a while on Thurkill's fleet, had abandoned all hope and followed his family to the Norman Court.

Thus the crime by which the King had been seated on his throne, guiltless though he had himself been of it, met its appropriate retribution. The fierce Dane seized the English crown and spread terror and disgust everywhere by his brutal excesses. But his triumph was short-lived. He died within the year at Gainsborough; and the nation sent a message to Æthelred begging him to return: 'for that no lord was dearer to them than their own lord, if he would hold them in rightlier wise than he did aforetime.' He sent his son Eadmund with pledges of good government; these were accepted, and King and witan then established 'full friendship by word and pledge on either hand, and declared every Danish king an outlaw from England.'

But things were destined to turn out otherwise. When Æthelred arrived, he found that Thurkill had quitted his service, and joined Cnut Swein's son. England was once more divided against itself. The King's health was failing fast, and he felt unequal to command. His elder son Eadmund, known as Ironside, had by an unwise marriage offended his father and quarrelled with the powerful Ealdorman Eadric. Eadric has obtained a name infamous in English history for his frequent change of side. He now determined to ally himself with Cnut, who was ravaging the country almost unopposed. The army refused to move without its King. But the King's spirit failed him, and he took refuge in London, which had remained stedfastly loyal through all this critical period. Within a few days he died, and such of the Witan as remained chose Eadmund as their King. He marched into the West, which still held to him, and, gathering together an army, forced Cnut to raise

the siege of London and hurry with the traitor Eadric to meet him. Then Eadric again wavered in his allegiance, and came over to Eadmund. A great battle was fought at Assandun on the Crouch, in which victory declared for Cnut, and the greater part of the English nobles were left dead on the field. Eadmund and Eadric fell back upon the Severn, followed by the victor and his army, but a second battle was averted by Eadric's mediation, and an arrangement made for the partition of the kingdom. Wessex and the English part of Mercia were given to Eadmund, while the rest of the country went to Cnut. Within a few months Eadmund's death left Cnut master of all England. There is some mystery about his end. The later Chronicles assert that he was murdered by Eadric's contrivance in the same shameful way in which Eglon of Moab was slain by Ehud. Mr Green throws doubt upon the story: but the universal execration heaped upon Eadric by almost all the Chroniclers makes it at least conceivable that the charge is true. Cnut, at any rate, shewed his opinion of the man: for no sooner did he present himself at his court than by the King's orders he was seized and put to death.

We are now called upon to witness one of those dramatic transformations of character, which Shakespeare has pictured for us in Prince Hal, and of which in all history there is no more striking instance than that of Cnut. Hitherto he had appeared as a typical Dane, a capable but brutal soldier, violent in temper and ruthless to all who opposed him. From the time when at the age of twenty-two he took the reins of sovereignty into his hands, he stands forth as one of the ablest and justest rulers who have ever occupied our throne.

He decided from the first that he would govern

England as an English King. To secure his position he set aside the mother of his two sons Swein and Harald, and sought in marriage Emma, widow of the late King. She was ten years his senior, but willingly acceded to his request. At his coronation in London he pledged himself to govern according to Eadgar's laws, and this promise was religiously kept. His whole policy was directed to make England the centre of his dominions. His realms of Norway and Denmark fell into the position of under-kingdoms. The chief offices of the kingdom were bestowed on Englishmen; and not only this, but English bishops and missionaries were sent to Norseland to carry forward the conversion of the people and their progress towards civilisation. Among the able men whom he selected for distinction by far the most remarkable was Godwine, whose origin is said to have been humble, but who had performed a service to one of the Danish nobles which he requited by an introduction to Cnut. The King saw the rare qualities of the man, and gave him opportunities both in the field and at the council-board of proving his merit. He raised him to the Earldom of Wessex, and gave him his sister-in-law Gytha to wife. We shall hear more of Godwine in the next reign. From A.D. 1020 onwards he became the King's chief counsellor, who entrusted him with the administration of the country during his frequent absences abroad. His name appears in all charters next to that of the King, and he gradually became the possessor of enormous wealth.

The See of Canterbury was filled by the appointment of Lyfing or Living, who had been Bishop of Wells since A.D. 999. He was the fifth Archbishop in succession who had come from Glastonbury. He

forsook his post for a time during the calamities of Swein's invasion, and we hear little of his episcopal administration. He died in A.D. 1020, and was succeeded by Æthelnoth, also a Glastonbury man. It appears that he was appointed on the sole nomination of the King, who issued a mandate to Wulfstan of York to come and consecrate him. He went to Rome for his pallium, which he obtained from Pope Benedict VIII. On the question of these episcopal appointments Lingard has the following interesting remarks: 'The vague and doubtful language of the historical records of the eighth and ninth centuries does not enable us to determine whether bishops were elected, or appointed by the will of the sovereign. Probably both were conjoined, the king's nomination being equivalent to a command, and the choice of clergy and people being a formality precedent to consecration. Ecgbehrt and his successors usually disposed of sees in national councils with the consent of the bishops and ealdormen: but under Cnut and his successors the will of the King was much more absolute, and by them the investiture with ring and staff seems to have been introduced. From that period the mitre frequently became the reward of intrigue and influence. Bishops were chosen from the twelve chaplains of the King, or the favourites of some powerful earl. This was specially the case under Eadward the Confessor.'[1]

The institution of the royal chaplains here alluded to demands a few words of explanation. We have mentioned the employment of the Archbishop as minister to the King. This practice was continued after Dunstan's death by Æthelred, who thus employed

[1] Lingard, 'History of the Anglo-Saxon Church,' vol. i., p. 85.

Sigeric. But the rise of the office of *Secundarius* or High Thegn, who was a lay-officer, had begun to supplant the political prerogatives of the Archbishop. All through Cnut's reign Godwine held this position. The growing machinery of government, however, required in addition a body of trained and capable administrators, and these were naturally to be looked for among the clergy, who alone possessed the educational qualifications that were needed. Hence we find the King introducing the institution of the royal chapel, and selecting as his chaplains all the ablest ecclesiastics he could find. These he entrusted with his business; and as they were always under his eye, they obtained the best chance of being appointed to bishopricks; and as a matter of fact, we find that a very large proportion of the Episcopate had served as Chaplains of the Court. This accounts for the predominantly political proclivities of the English Bishops as distinct from the lower clergy which was a feature of our Church life from this time forward till the Reformation.

The King's attitude to the Church was consistent with his general policy. He manifested his sympathies for English saints by conducting the body of the martyred Archbishop to its Canterbury resting-place; and he endeavoured to blot out the remembrance of his earlier cruelties by shewing honour to those Abbeys which had been despoiled by his countrymen. He built a church at Assandun in memory of those who had fallen on both sides in the battle. He enriched the houses of Ely and Ramsey, which had both suffered at Danish hands, and instituted anniversaries in honour of Dunstan and the martyred King Eadward. He refounded the Abbey of Bury St Eadmunds, where an English King had been slain by Danish violence, and

paid a pilgrimage to Glastonbury to the tomb of his gallant adversary Eadmund Ironside.

The King's care for the Church displayed itself also in the ecclesiastical laws passed by his Witans. One of these regulates the privilege of sanctuary and the penalties for violating it. These vary according to the sanctity or importance of the Church. The 'head churches' demand a fine of two hundred and forty shillings: the 'middling,' one hundred and twenty: the 'lesser churches,' which have a burying-place but where little service is done, have to be satisfied with sixty shillings, and the country churches or chapels, which have no burying-place, with thirty. Of the other religious and moral enactments in this code we may mention two as of general interest; one pressing upon the clergy the need of wisely instructing their flocks and on the people the obligation of receiving the Holy Eucharist at least three times in the year; and the other, laying down stringent prohibitions against Sunday labour.

In A.D. 1023 Wulfstan II, Archbishop of York, died after a pontificate of twenty years, and was succeeded by Ælfric of whom we have already spoken, who received his pallium in the following year from Pope John. His rapacity and violence procured him the name of Puttock or the Hawk; but the former tendency was circumscribed by the detachment of the See of Worcester from the Archbishoprick, of which it will be remembered it had been held as an appanage by both Oswald and Wulfstan.

The most memorable event in Cnut's reign was his pilgrimage to Rome. The year in which it took place is uncertain. Florence of Worcester and William of Malmesbury place it in A.D. 1031, but there are good

grounds for dating it four or even five years earlier. The King had long desired to visit the capital of Christendom. The savageries of his early days weighed upon his conscience, and he longed to make atonement for them by a public profession of his repentance before the Prince of the Apostles. From Rome he sent a letter to the English people, the earliest instance of such a communication that has come down to us, in which he lays bare the thoughts of his heart, and reveals his conception of the Kingly office. 'Be it known' (he says) 'that since I have vowed to God henceforth to reform my life in all things, and justly and piously to govern the Kingdom and people subject unto me, and to maintain equal justice in all things; and having determined, through God's assistance, to rectify anything hitherto unjustly done, either through the intemperance of my youth or through negligence; therefore I call to witness and command my counsellors, to whom I have entrusted the counsels of my Kingdom, that they by no means either through fear of myself, or favour to any powerful person, suffer any injustice or cause such to be done in all my kingdom, as they tender my affection or care for their own safety. . . . I have sent this epistle before me, in order that my people may rejoice at my prosperity: because, as yourselves know, I have never spared, nor will I spare, either myself or my pains for the needful service of my whole Kingdom.'

The letter was conveyed to Æthelnoth, with instructions to make it known to the nation. It is a lengthy document, and among other things recounts the valuable privileges which he had been able to obtain for Danish and English pilgrims, together with minute regulations for the payment of various Church dues

including Peter's pence. The Archbishop had been one of his chaplains, and a close friendship had sprung up between them. Together they visited Coventry, after the King's return from Rome, to lay upon its altar a precious relic, the arm of St Augustine Bishop of Hippo, which Cnut had purchased at Pavia for a hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold.[1] Together also they made the journey to Glastonbury already mentioned, when the King, kneeling in prayer over Eadmund's tomb, presented the chapel with a splendid pall, and granted to the Abbey a confirmation of all its ancient privileges and immunities. The text of the charter is still preserved, and illustrates the complete independence of all external jurisdiction which this and other Abbeys were able to obtain. All persons, whether judges or primates or of what dignity soever, are inhibited under a curse from entering into or disturbing its sanctuary, but all causes, ecclesiastical and secular, shall await the sole judgment of the Abbot and convent.

Cnut's reign was peaceful and prosperous, and the administration of government during his absences in Denmark well performed. But he did not live long enough to finish his projected work. Some constitutional weakness cut short his life, and he died at the early age of forty in A.D. 1035, having bequeathed his English Kingdom to his son Harthacnut. But Harthacnut's long absence in Denmark had caused him to be scarcely known to the English; and though Godwine's gratitude to his master as well as his policy of uniting Scandinavia and England made him a warm supporter of the young prince's claims, the Witan would not accept him. They elected Harald Harefoot, Cnut's other son;

[1] Florence, Book ii. ch. ii.

and all that Godwine could effect was a division of the Kingdom between the two claimants.

Somewhat to our surprise we find Queen Emma espousing the cause of the Danish princes, and assisting Godwine in bringing about the final arrangement for their sharing power. She seems to have had but little affection for her children by Æthelred, and to have preferred a Danish to an English succession. But an incident occurred shortly afterwards which embittered her relations with Godwine and has left a stain on the great earl's name. The Ætheling Ælfred, her elder son by Æthelred, paid a visit to England in peaceful guise, not ostensibly as a claimant, but under the pretext of saluting his mother. He came, however, attended by a train of Normans, which roused the jealousy of Harald. He was seized at Guildford by Harald's orders, blinded, and sent to Ely, where he died soon after, while his Norman followers were put to the sword. The resentment of the Norman duchy centred on Godwine, whom they believed to have been the instigator of this atrocious deed. And so persistent was the suspicion and so injurious to the Earl's influence that afterwards, when Eadward was King, he was charged by Archbishop Ælfric with the crime, and forced to purge himself by an oath before the altar.

The Queen Mother still favoured her elder son's cause, but Godwine, impatient at Harthacnut's supineness, transferred his allegiance to Harald, whose career of vice and misgovernment was speedily cut short by death. In A.D. 1040 Harthacnut, while meditating an armed descent on England, was met by the announcement that he had been elected King of England. Two years of misrule followed, and with Harthacnut's

death in A.D. 1042 Eadward, the younger son of Emma by Æthelred became undisputed successor to the throne. At the request of his half-brother he had come to England before that prince's death, but returned almost immediately to Rouen. He seems to have had little desire to reign in England, but it was impossible to refuse. The coronation was fixed for the following Easter, and he made preparations for arriving in time for it.

In closing this chapter, which relates the culminating episode in the long drama of Danish relations with England, it may be well to draw attention to some of the results of the contact between the two peoples. There can be no doubt that the Danelaw introduced into this country some valuable elements. The Norse character had many affinities with the Saxon. In their original heathen faith, in customs, manners and language they were near allies. In their large and free manhood, in martial daring, in rapidity of action, in love of the sea, in the spirit of restless adventure for the sake of gain or traffic or for its own sake, they were pre-eminent above all nations of their time. It is true that by their ferocious cruelty they had destroyed some of the best features of England's earlier life, but it is no less true that by the incorporation with our race, they imported into it just those characteristics which, grafted on the less ardent nature of the English, have developed some of our strongest and most enduring qualities. The Danes and Norsemen, marked as was their racial type, lacked that stubborn persistency in preserving it which is the inheritance of the Anglo-Saxon. They were never able to withstand the transforming influences of a more matured civilisation than their own. In a very brief time they had aban-

doned their heathen beliefs for the faith of Christ. In Normandy, as in England, they readily adopted the national characteristics of the people whose land they took. The Frenchman's chivalry, idealism, subtle intelligence and high sense of art, were appropriated and exhibited in equal degree by the Gallicised Normans. The sense of law and justice, the stubborn endurance and the good-natured cheerfulness of the Englishman were reproduced together with their own qualities in the Anglicised Danes of the later Kingdom. In fact the national type of English manhood, which ere long was to absorb almost as effectively the invading French element, was by the fusion of races already matured. In Godwine, in Harold and in Stigand, we recognise unmistakeably, in different degrees of alloy, the permanent traits of the Englishman.

On our Church life, on the other hand, the influence of these conquerors was decidedly unfavourable. Though we acquit them of having directly caused the decline of religion and learning, there is no doubt they everywhere accelerated it. In the North of England especially, it is to them that we must attribute the extinction of schools and monasteries which had shone with so benign a lustre, and that long isolation of the See of York which cut it off for generations from the Southern Province, and threw it into the position of an almost separate Church, compelled by the stress of the times to ally itself with alien and rebellious populations. This fact partly explains, what at first seems unaccountable, why the Church of Northumbria had no share in the Benedictine revival. The Church, like the province, had followed its own bent, and was not disposed to accept the influence of a superior however legitimate. Hence it is ultimately to the Danish

troubles that must be assigned that intolerable self-assertion of the prelates of York, which, though partly justified by ancient constitutions, formed so fruitful a cause of conflict during the early Norman reigns and proved so injurious to the independence of the Church of England.

There can be no doubt that the return of Eadward was looked forward to with the most sanguine hopes by the nation at large. The misrule of Cnut's sons had effaced the feeling of gratitude for his wise governance. It was expected that English law and English ways would once more assert their supremacy. The King's character was hardly known, but the reports of it which had reached our shores were wholly favourable. He was no warrior, but his gentle manners, fervent piety and courtly training all prepared his people to anticipate a prosperous and happy reign. How grievous was to be their disappointment, and how calamitous the condition of Church and State in spite of all men's reverence for their saintly King, will be told in the next chapter.

BOOK II

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS OF NORMAN INFLUENCE

THE rapid extinction of Cnut's dynasty had given the nation the opportunity it desired of bringing back the ancient line of kings. Eadward was hailed with universal joy and with the brightest hopes of good government. In his election the Church had borne a prominent part. Lyfing, Bishop of Worcester and of the Western See of Crediton, had recommended him to the Witan. He was hallowed on Easter-day, and a powerful discourse was delivered by Archbishop Eadsige on the duties of the kingly office.

But the happy anticipations that gathered round his coronation were not destined to be fulfilled. The King, now forty years of age, and for nearly thirty a guest at the Norman Court, was by training and sympathies a stranger to his country. His delicate frame was unequal to the hardships of war or the demands of daily business. His ascetic piety, guided by monkish confessors, shrank from an independent course of action, and willingly bowed before the dictation of spiritual authority. The reverence accorded by every Englishman to his holy life did not awaken

in his breast any responsive affection. The manners, prejudices and language of his countrymen were distasteful to him. He accepted the crown with scarce-concealed reluctance, and at once surrounded himself with companions chosen from the land of his preference. It soon became evident that it was to Godwine and not to him that men must look for the championship of English interests and the preservation of English rights.

It was in his Church appointments that this partiality became most conspicuous. Claims and influences which it might be difficult to disregard in the case of a lay official could more easily be set aside in the selection of a bishop or abbot. Ecclesiastical dignities differ from secular in that they are not dependent upon local association. A Bishop or a Dean may be appointed to a Diocese in which he has never worked. In our own day we have seen English priests summoned to American bishopricks, while appointments of Englishmen to Colonial Sees or of Colonial prelates to English Sees are far from uncommon. In the eleventh century the latitude of selection was wider still, and might ignore not only local but national considerations: and Eadward soon shewed his determination to avail himself of it to the full. In A.D. 1044 Ælfweard, Bishop of London, was afflicted with leprosy, and obliged to vacate his see. The vacancy was filled by the appointment of Robert, Abbot of Jumièges in Normandy, a friend of the King's early manhood, and always his most trusted counsellor. This was the first instance since the earliest days of our Church of a foreign-speaking Prelate in an English See.

Eadsige was now growing infirm, and desired the

appointment of a coadjutor. Coadjutor bishops were of long standing in the Church. Eusebius (A.D. 325) mentions that when a Bishop was incapacitated by reason of age an assistant had in certain cases been consecrated for him. The first instance was that of Alexander, coadjutor to Narcissus of Jerusalem who had reached the age of a hundred and twenty. The expedient was not unfrequently resorted to in succeeding ages, notably in the case of St Augustine, who was consecrated to Hippo during the lifetime of Bishop Valerius. But he considered himself disqualified from consecrating his own coadjutor who was to succeed him, on the ground that by accepting a joint Episcopal responsibility he himself had infringed an original principle of Church government, viz. that only one Bishop can act in one diocese. Afterwards this difficulty was got over by the formal appointment of a coadjutor to the title of some other church than that in which he worked. Coadjutors were appointed either temporarily *i.e.* for the lifetime of the Diocesan bishop (as in the case of Gregory of Nazianzum who after the Bishop his father's death retired into private life), or for their own life, in which case they generally received the right of succession on the death of the occupant. In the present case nothing is said of the terms on which Eadsige applied for the boon. He proceeded with caution in the matter. He feared, if a public election were made, that unworthy influences might be brought to bear. There is, unfortunately, good ground for believing that the practice of simony, or the purchase of preferment, though not in its most obnoxious form, was beginning to prevail in our Church. Eadsige was careful to take into confidence only the King and Godwine, and the appointment

was given to Siward, Abbot of Abingdon. Eadsige, however, out-lived Siward, and was able to conduct the remaining portion of his Episcopate without assistance.

Godwine now directed his efforts to counteracting the unpopular appointments of the King. Recognising the futility of pressing the claims of English Churchmen, he contented himself with exerting his influence in favour of Lotharingian Bishops. The district of Lorraine, bordering on France and Germany, was of necessity bilingual. The patriotic party preferred these German prelates to French ones: they were not distasteful to the King, and, as a compromise, were tolerably satisfactory to all. They were, of course, far more subservient to Rome than the English Bishops; but on the other hand, they had been used to Chrodegang's rule, and so caused less disturbance among the Chapters than Norman monks. Many of them were conspicuous for learning and piety. Hermann, an eminent Lotharingian, was nominated to succeed Brihtwold at Ramsbury (1045).

In the following year Lyfing died. He was succeeded in the See of Crediton by Leofric, an Englishman by birth but a Lotharingian by training; and in the See of Worcester by Ealdred, Abbot of Tavistock, who in A.D. 1061 became Archbishop of York. He was a skilful diplomatist, and in after years gained renown by a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Increasing intercourse with the Continent brought our Bishops into contact with the larger questions of the Church. Several instances of their attendance at Continental Councils are recorded during the Pontificate of Leo IX. This would help to make them

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more amenable to the public opinion of European Christendom.

About this time the name of Stigand comes into prominence, and from the part he played in national affairs he deserves an introduction to the reader. The first notice of him is in A.D. 1020, when Cnut after his victory at Assandun reared a stone minster on the site, and appointed him one of its priests. As such his name is appended to Cnut's charters in A.D. 1033 and A.D. 1035; and after Cnut's death he remained faithful to the Danish house. He became chaplain to Harald Harefoot, and after his death the friend and adviser of Cnut's widow. It is said that in A.D. 1038 he had been nominated for a bishoprick, but did not come forward with a sufficient offer to secure it. This rumour, whether true or not, is an indication of what people thought of his character. At the accession of Eadward, possibly as part of the price the King paid to obtain his throne, he was raised to the See of Elmham. But his friendship for the Lady Emma laid him open to the suspicion of political intrigue. He was deposed by the Gemot and his estates confiscated. In A.D. 1044, however, he made his peace with the King, and re-appears as Bishop of Elmham, from whence in A.D. 1047 he was transferred, no doubt through Godwine's influence, to the important See of Winchester. His fortunes now become mixed up with those of the great Earl his patron, to whom his dexterity in negotiation made him an invaluable ally. Godwine's ambition was content with nothing less than making his influence paramount throughout the land. His own Earldom of Wessex comprised nearly the entire South of England, and he retained this position even after the house of Wessex, to whom it properly

belonged, had recovered the throne. This must have been peculiarly galling to Eadward, and perhaps may explain his abandonment of his ancient capital Winchester for the new home which he had made for himself in the Isle of Thorney, the future Westminster.

The predominance of Godwine's house was, in fact, a menace to the throne. As an indication of it we may mention that Swein, one of his sons, was Earl of Hereford; another, Harold, Earl of East Anglia, and a third, Beorn, Earl of Nottingham and Middle England. Northumbria stood outside this confederacy, isolated and aloof, almost a separate realm, under the capable but savage government of Siward the Dane. Leofric of Mercia was the only Englishman whose position could in any way be compared with Godwine's, and his rule was confined to the four counties bordering on North Wales. The power of such a subject might well provoke a monarch's jealousy; and yet, by an irony of fortune, it conduced to the increase of his prerogative and the consolidation of the realm. For Godwine, instead of being obliged, like his predecessors, to defend a precarious pre-eminence against competitors of equal power, was left free to make his influence penetrate into every quarter of the land, and bring before men's minds the possibility of united action. By A.D. 1045 he controlled the whole district south of Humber, the basins of the Thames, Severn and Trent; and had given his daughter Eadgyth in marriage to the King, in the hope of strengthening his hold over him, and exercising through her some check upon his Norman proclivities.

But the public confidence in Godwine was shaken by the gross misconduct of his son Swein. Indulged by his father, and of a violent and unbridled character,

he had in A.D. 1046 abducted the young Abbess of Leominster, and sent her back to the convent with child. Such an outrage it was impossible to overlook. Swein was declared an outlaw, and sought a refuge first at Bruges, and afterwards in Denmark.

Meanwhile events were taking place on the Continent that were to have a lasting effect on the history of England. William the Bastard, son of Richard by the tanner's daughter of Falaise, had succeeded by mingled courage, craft and good fortune in hewing his way to the foremost place. He was now undisputed master of his Duchy, and had perhaps already cast longing eyes on the fair realm beyond the sea. He contrived to secure the appointment of one of his chaplains named Ulf to the see of Dorchester, a rude and violent man, totally unfit to be a Bishop, but considered likely to be serviceable to his patron's interests.

William and Godwine were unavowed rivals. Both clearly perceived that the key to the situation was Flanders. For some generations it had been the policy of the English Kings to secure the friendship of this neighbouring state, and Godwine had been careful to retain it. William now took the significant step of demanding in marriage Matilda daughter of the Count of Flanders. Such a union, once achieved, could not fail to break the connexion between Baldwin and Godwine's house. Godwine saw the danger, and it is to his skilful hand that we must trace the temporary defeat of William's design. Leo IX and the Emperor Henry III held a great Council at Rheims in A.D. 1049, at which Duduc, Lotharingian Bishop of Wells, was present at Godwine's instance, and the result was a

Papal prohibition of William's marriage on the ground of consanguinity. Baldwin withdrew the promise he had made to William, and in the following year gave another of his daughters named Judith in marriage to Tostig, Godwine's third son. Thus the success of Godwine's schemes was for the moment complete. But once again it was seriously checked by the brutality of Swein, for whom his father, with unwise affection, had procured the King's pardon and leave to return. Being involved in a dispute with his brother Beorn, he enticed him into one of his ships and murdered him. Swein was now branded with the title of Nithing, *i.e.* utterly worthless, and again forced to leave the country. Yet the King, with incredible weakness, was once more induced, through the intercession of Ealdred of Worcester, to receive him back, and even to reinstate him in his Earldom, a triumph for Godwine which brought him more harm than good.

Shortly after took place the death of the aged Archbishop. The Chapter immediately elected Ælfric, a kinsman of Godwine's, to succeed him. This compelled the King to act in self-defence. With his sons in the great Earldoms, with Stigand at Winchester, with Ælfric at Canterbury, what more could Godwine have but the Kingdom? The religious influence of the Primate was great: his constitutional importance even greater. Alone entitled to crown the King, to announce his election and to receive his oath, an Archbishop under Godwine's influence would be an instrument in his hands, and the King's prerogative an empty name.

Eadward therefore launched a counter-stroke. At a Witan held in London he appointed Robert to the Primatial See. All that Godwine could effect in return

was to obtain the nomination of an Englishman named Spearhafoc to the vacancy in London. But Robert frustrated this design. He went to Rome for his pallium, and induced the Pope to declare Spearhafoc ineligible on the alleged ground of simony. He was thus able to refuse to consecrate him, though the wronged prelate defiantly took possession of his see.

In the following year an event occurred which accentuated the bitterness of contending parties, and had grave results for the kingdom. Eustace, Count of Boulogne, who had married the King's sister, landed at Dover on a visit to the Court. The insolence of his Norman retainers galled the independent spirit of the townsmen. A quarrel arose between one of his knights and a citizen of good position, in which the latter was slain. The populace rose against the intruders and killed several of them. Eustace fled to the King, demanding vengeance. Dover was in Godwine's earldom, and he was ordered by the King to punish his vassals. His troops were in readiness, and relying on their support he refused obedience, alleging that the citizens were not to blame. He further declared himself the champion of the King's rights against evil counsellors and the foreign enemies of the country. The King was in a difficulty: but Godwine found he had presumed too far. Leofric and Siward were not prepared to allow him to dictate to the King and terrorise the whole nation. They brought their forces to Gloucester, where Godwine's army lay, and insisted that the issue should be tried at a national Witan. The first act of this Witan was to outlaw Swein: they then required Godwine's presence, that he might clear himself, among other charges, of complicity with the murder of the

Ætheling Ælfred by Harald Harefoot. But Godwine determined not to appear. He fled the country, and remained for more than a year in Flanders, reckoning on the King's unpopularity and the people's desire for his return.

No sooner had Godwine departed than Eadward separated from the Queen and placed her in a monastery, though no suspicion of political intrigue attached to her. He next proceeded to expel Spearhafoc from London, and replaced him by one of his Norman chaplains named William. The appointment was a good one, and William became much beloved in his diocese. This year is also memorable for the visit of William of Normandy to the English Court, and the rumoured bequest of the kingdom to him by the King.

Meanwhile Godwine, weary of absence, endeavoured through the agency of Stigand to induce the King to receive him back. The negotiations were unsuccessful, and Godwine, who ever preferred diplomatic methods, found himself under the necessity of resorting to force. He fitted out a fleet, and sailed to the Isle of Wight, where he effected a junction with his son Harold's fleet, and the combined squadron entered the Thames and advanced to London. The whole country hailed his arrival, and were ready to support him by arms, but with praiseworthy moderation he declined a contest, and sought the presence of the King. Eadward, finding himself left almost alone, had no choice but to accept the Earl's excuses and to ratify his demands. Robert and Ulf were thrust out of the country, and with them were banished all the more obnoxious of the King's foreign friends. William of London had followed their flight, but he was recalled soon after,

and kept his post through all the troubles that ensued. The Archbishop was outlawed, and his see declared vacant. Stigand now received the reward of his patriotic services, and was promoted to the Archbishoprick, still, however, retaining, according to the evil precedent of the period, the Bishoprick of Winchester. Robert fled to Normandy, and lost no time in filling the ears of Europe with the story of his wrongs. He found a willing listener in the crafty William, who knew how to turn Robert's misfortunes to his own advantage, and to hold forth as one of his chief objects the redressing of the irregularities of the English Church.

Two points in this episode of our history require to be noticed. First, the high statecraft of Godwine, who in advance of his age had grasped the force of the great constitutional maxim that the King can do no wrong. He had posed as the champion of the King's right, as his defender against evil counsellors, and by so doing had, perhaps unwittingly, strengthened the royal prerogative. Secondly, we observe the extension of the area of conflict from our Island to the whole field of the Church. Robert's flight to Rome and enlistment of the Pope and William on his side had raised the royal and primatial successions in England to the dignity of international questions. To Englishmen, accustomed as they were to the concurrent action of Church and State, it seemed a matter of course that a Primate expelled from the kingdom was by that very process deprived of his See. Nevertheless, discerning minds felt grave misgivings about Stigand's right to the Archbishoprick. His predecessor had not been canonically deposed. The pallium, which in his hurried flight he had left at Canterbury, might be worn

by Stigand, but the mere wearing of it could not carry the inherent sanction of authority or neutralise the taint of schism.

Stigand himself, though far from scrupulous in conscience, felt the necessity of approving his position to the judgment of the nation. He applied for a pallium to Benedict, who was now Pope; and obtained it, though not without difficulty, six years later. But this helped him little: for Benedict himself was declared a usurper and his acts were annulled after his death. Stigand's position was therefore decidedly irregular. Yet, by a strange inconsistency, no objection was raised against the election of Wulfwig, who in the same year succeeded to the ejected Ulf. Both he, however, and Leofwine, the new Bishop of Lichfield, avoided consecration at Stigand's hands, and went abroad for it.

At the Gemot in A.D. 1053 Arnwig, Abbot of Peterborough, resigned in favour of Leofric, one of his monks, having obtained leave from the King and the brethren of the Monastery. He was a nephew of the great Earl, and so prosperous was his rule that men commonly spoke of the abbey no longer as Peterborough but Gildenborough.

At the Easter festival at Winchester this year, while Godwine and his sons were dining with the King, the Earl suddenly fell down speechless, and never rallied again. Men looked on his death as a judgment for his appropriations of Church property. But if his hand had lain heavily on the Church at times, his wife Gytha had ever been its generous benefactress. He was laid to rest in the old Minster, the first of that long line of essentially lay-minded statesmen, so prominently characteristic of England; patriotic, far-

sighted and even-tempered, ever preferring argument to force, persistent in all his aims, a man of great soul, yet lacking that sensitiveness to the religious motive which is necessary to secure the complete confidence of the English race.

CHAPTER II

THE LAST OF THE ENGLISH KINGS

AFTER Godwine's death his place at the King's board was filled by Harold. The dislike that Eadward had felt for Godwine and been unable to conceal was due in part to their incompatibility of character and the latter's undisguised ambition to control the realm; but it was intensified by the conviction which Godwine's solemn oath did not succeed in dispelling, that he had been accessory to the Ætheling's murder. The King never overcame it; but it was confined to Godwine himself and did not extend to his family. Harold's qualities were such as speedily to secure him a complete ascendancy in the King's counsels. Eadward had little aptitude for the regular business of government. His tastes were those of a monk; the exercises of piety and the society of ecclesiastics engrossed the greater part of his attention. But he shared the hereditary love of his house for the pastime of hunting, and enjoyed the more polished conversation of his courtly Norman lords. His relations with his wife have been the subject of much discussion. It seems probable that he had resolved to embrace the wedded state without accepting its natural conditions, and we are assured by more than one of our authorities that Eadgyth accepted and approved his resolution. Whether this was the fact, or whether Eadward was incapable of fulfilling the duties of a

husband, must remain uncertain. In either case the fact of his chastity is recorded as an additional gem in the crown of his sainthood. The humility of his spiritual devotion did not, however, prevent him from setting a high value on his royal dignity, which Godwine's assumption must frequently have seemed to infringe. It is probable that if the Earl and his sons had been more willing to stoop to the arts of the courtier, they might have counteracted with more success the introduction of so many foreigners into important posts. As it was, their independent attitude with the sovereign left the crafty Robert a free hand. He had used his influence to encourage the erection of castles, the settlement of Frenchmen in provincial towns where they obtained in many cases the rights of citizenship, and, above all, the establishment of alien priories all over the kingdom. These were small convents affiliated to some large and distant monastery, which were governed by the mother establishment and owed allegiance to it. The effect of this step was to interweave a network of foreign jurisdiction into the administration of religious houses, and to create centres of disaffection or innovation which could easily be made effective in time of need.

But since Godwine's recall, several of these abuses had been stopped. The King was allowed, indeed, to retain his immediate *entourage*, and many Normans of less conspicuous rank undoubtedly remained in the country. Eadward continued to enjoy the congenial society of his courtiers and ecclesiastics, and was content to leave the direction of the national policy in Harold's hands.

With Harold's brother Tostig his relations were more intimate. The stern and somewhat fanatical elements

in the young Earl's character had an attraction for Eadward. He treated him as a personal friend, took him into his confidence, and afterwards, to the great misfortune of the country, entrusted him with the difficult government of the Northern Earldom.

Harold was at this time thirty years old, in the prime of his splendid manhood. His tall and well-knit frame, his frank manners and genial humour, combined with his military and statesmanlike capacity to make him the obvious leader of the nation and the typical embodiment of the English ideal. He had more religion than his father, but was decidedly inferior to him in political sagacity. His behaviour to Eadward was prudent; complying with his wishes wherever possible, he gained his objects without any appearance of dictating them. There is no reason to think that Harold was already scheming for the Crown. Had this been the case, he would scarcely have furthered if he did not actually suggest the King's invitation to Eadward the Ætheling son of Eadmund Ironside to visit England. For this invitation was equivalent to declaring Eadward the King's heir. It will be remembered that Eadward had long resided as an exile at the Hungarian Court and had married a Hungarian princess, by whom he had three children, Eadgar the Ætheling, Margaret, afterwards Queen of Scotland, and Christina. Ealdred Bishop of Worcester and Ælfwine Abbot of Ramsey were dispatched as envoys to the Emperor, who undertook to intercede with the King of Hungary for the return of the exiled family. The mission was eventually successful. But the Ætheling did not come to England until A.D. 1057, when almost immediately after his arrival at London he died at the age of forty-one. His death was the

herald of calamity to England. At first it might have seemed to transfer the succession to his son Eadgar; but Eadgar was a mere child, and the manifest need for a stronger hand at the helm had awakened in Harold the uprising of a mighty ambition. From this time forward we begin to trace in his policy signs of a design to win the succession for himself.

The constitutional question of his right to the crown does not concern us here. It is sufficient to remark that the direct representative of the house of Cerdic, to whom the succession would in the first instance pass, was too young to govern. But the Witan were under no obligation to limit their choice, in the event of no male member of the royal line being available and fit for rule. The crown was elective in theory, and custom had connected it with one particular house. The divine right of one dynasty had not yet become a dogma; and the time demanded a ruler who would be able to meet the storm which every well-informed patriot knew was coming. Harold's confidential adviser was Stigand, with whom he proceeded to concert measures for strengthening the defensive power of the realm.

In this year Cynesige of York died and was buried at Peterborough (A.D. 1060). His place was immediately filled by Ealdred Bishop of Worcester, who, following Stigand's example, retained the two preferments. An explanation has already been offered of the probable motive that had influenced Dunstan long before in uniting these two particular sees. But a step which could be justified, if at all, only by urgent political necessity, was likely to become a dangerous precedent, and in this instance there was no political ground for setting aside the rule of the Church.

Ealdred proceeded without loss of time to apply for his pallium at Rome. It so happened that Tostig and other envoys were also bound for the Papal Court on business of the King's. Ealdred joined their company, together with Gisa and Walter who were as yet unconsecrated. The former had just been appointed to Wells, the latter to Hereford, and both had declined to accept consecration at Stigand's hands. The party were kindly received by Pope Nicholas, and Ealdred at first was treated with marked distinction. But on the official examination of their respective antecedents, while the two Bishops were found satisfactory and received their consecration, Ealdred was compelled to admit that he had been guilty of offering the King a consideration for his promotion. The Pope deemed it necessary to inflict an open censure, and Ealdred was sentenced to be degraded from all ecclesiastical dignity. Being unable to obtain a reversal of his sentence, he accompanied his companions homewards. While still within the Pope's territory, they were set upon by a band of robbers and stripped of all their possessions. Tostig's anger was kindled against the Pontiff. He instantly made his way back to him, and hurled the bitterest reproaches against a ruler who was severe to suppliants but launched no weapon against the rebels of his own house. Not only did he insist upon the restitution of the stolen goods, but he required the rehabilitation of Ealdred, intimating that a report of the matter to the King would cause the supply of Peter's Pence to be withheld. The Pope now changed his attitude. He expressed himself willing to confer the pallium upon Ealdred, only stipulating that he should immediately resign his other see. He also sent three legates headed by Ermenfrid

of Sitten to England, ostensibly for the purpose of seeing that Ealdred's resignation of Worcester was carried out, but with fuller instructions to inquire generally into the disciplinary condition of the English Church. One of their first acts was to superintend the disposal of the vacant see. The Prior of Worcester at this time was Wulfstan, formerly a monk of Peterborough, who had won the reverence of his brethren by the severity of his mortifications and the surpassing purity of his life. He was requested by the legate to assume the bishoprick, but his humility made him most unwilling to do so. It was not until he had listened to the pleadings of Wulfsig, an aged hermit for whom he entertained a high regard, that his scruples were overcome. Wulfstan will appear again in the history as one of the holiest and most courageous prelates that have ever graced our Church. Stigand was not permitted to consecrate him. The ceremony was performed by Ealdred; but Stigand received his suffragan's promise of obedience, and exacted a pledge from Ealdred not to assert, by virtue of the act of consecration, any rights over the spiritualities of the see. This promise was not kept, and a serious dispute arose afterwards in connexion with it.

The position of Stigand, already dubious, was still further undermined by the legates. He had previously consecrated Æthelric of Selsey and Siward of Rochester, but these were the only two prelates who would accept the rite at his hands.

Some mention must now be made of Harold's Church benefactions. In A.D. 1059 he founded his famous Minster of Waltham on the spot where Tofig the Proud had years before built a small church for the reception of a wonder-working crucifix. This founda-

tion of Harold's has peculiar features of its own. Though known as Waltham Abbey, it was not strictly a monastery, but combined provision for a cathedral establishment with a munificent educational endowment. It was to be governed by a Dean and twelve canons, not necessarily regulars, and a Chancellor or Professor named Adelard as head of the educational work. Thus Harold set the example of that enlightened ecclesiastical policy which unites Church preferment with intellectual distinction. The Norman Conquest threw back this movement, which was thoroughly congenial to the English spirit, for some centuries. But to Harold more than any one of the time belongs the merit of discerning the larger uses of ecclesiastical endowments.

It was to this church that in the anxious interval between Stamford Bridge and Senlac the King retired for prayer and a brief communion with God; and it must ever be a hallowed spot to Englishmen. Its consecration took place in A.D. 1060, and was performed by Cynesige, Archbishop of York, either from Harold's doubt of the validity of Stigand's episcopal acts, or, as some think, because of his unpopularity with the nation.

In A.D. 1061 the Lotharingian Gisa, whom we have already had occasion to mention, was promoted to the See of Wells. Its last occupant Duduc had bequeathed to his successor the abbey estate of Gloucester, which was now claimed by Harold. A dispute arose, which has enabled the Norman chroniclers to charge Harold with spoliation of the Church. It appears that on ascertaining the justice of Gisa's claim, he made a promise to restore the lands, but from pressure of political difficulties never fulfilled it. Gisa changed the rule of his chapter, but his action was reversed at his death. The reputation of Lotharingian Churchmen stood high

both in England and Normandy, and gave opportunity for introducing Roman ideas in what to Englishmen was a less offensive form than that adopted by Norman prelates. With regard to the case of Crediton, the reader will remember that at Lyfing's death in A.D. 1046 a Lotharingian Bishop was appointed. This was Leofric, a Cornishman by birth, who followed the Continental custom in transferring the Bishop's seat from the small town of Crediton to the important city of Exeter. He had obtained the approval of Pope Leo IX, and the King had been present at his enthronement in A.D. 1050. The Charter of Eadward providing for the transference is still in existence, and throws light on the ecclesiastical procedure of the time. Though the Pope had been consulted in the matter, he did not venture to lay his commands upon the King, but merely expresses a desire that the King would act. The reasons given by Eadward and his Witan are mainly the growing strength of Exeter as a fortress, and its consequent greater security as a bulwark against the raids of pirates. He reports to the Pope that the change has been made by his own authority and that of the Witan and Bishops of England. As soon as Leofric was established there he proceeded to introduce Chrodegang's rule among the canons, but, as at Wells, the change does not seem to have been permanent.

It is probably in the later years of Eadward's reign that we must place the fatal voyage of Harold to Normandy, which resulted in his shipwreck and delivery into the power of William, when he was compelled as the condition of his release to take the oath of supporting William's claim to the English crown. If this celebrated oath be a fact, as it probably

is, we must remember that Harold had no power to bind the English Witan by it. William himself could not have expected such a result. The transaction must be regarded as an additional plank deftly driven at an opportune moment into the structure of his pretensions to the throne of England, which he was rearing so skilfully for use at the appointed time.

Meanwhile Siward the great Northumbrian Earl had passed away, and Eadward handed over his earldom to Tostig. The severity of Tostig's administration, which spared not even those in highest place, provoked a revolt. A Gemot was held at York in A.D. 1065, at which Tostig was declared an outlaw, and Morkere, son of Ælfgar and grandson of Leofric of Mercia, elected in his place. His brother Eadwine held the Earldom of Mercia, and it was evident that the two brothers aspired to divide the sovereignty with Eadward's successor, whoever he should be. They met in arms, and demanded from the King the expulsion of Tostig from the realm. Eadward was willing to protect him, but Harold for reasons of state insisted on sacrificing his brother to their demand. A national council was held at Oxford, the proposal of the two Earls was ratified, and Tostig, furious with Harold, fled to Flanders.

The King had long been occupied with the dearest project of his heart, which was to erect a church worthy of the glory of St Peter, the Apostle to whose honour he was specially devoted. The site he had selected was in the Isle of Thorney, about a mile and a half west of London; and he lavished upon the building the greater part of his personal treasure, besides expending on it for fourteen years one tenth of his royal revenue. He had employed the skill of the best Roman architects,

and there can be no doubt that Eadward's Abbey was the most beautiful building that had been seen in England. Nothing of the original Church now remains; but in the Sanctuary adjacent some features of contemporary work may be discerned. The entire Abbey was rebuilt in its present exquisite combination of beauty and grandeur by Henry III, the Western towers and the Eastern Chapel being additions of later date.

By Christmas of this year (A.D. 1066) it was ready for consecration. The King had set his heart on inaugurating this great memorial of his reign. But it was not to be. His health, which had for some time been failing, made it impossible for him to be present. His place was taken by his Queen, the lady Eadgyth, the wife he had never known as wife, whose youth and beauty he had neglected, and whose high gifts he had failed to appreciate. She now with the meekness and loyalty of true womanhood sealed her wifely union with her lord's spirit by this her last and justly famous act.

It was universally believed at the time that Eadward had the gift of prophecy. Several anecdotes are told to prove it. The following is one of them. One Easter morning as the holy King passed from mass to banquet-hall, a serene smile was seen to flit across his face. Being asked the cause of such unwonted mirth, he answered that he had seen a vision of the seven sleepers of Ephesus turning in their sleep. An embassy was sent to Constantinople to confirm the prodigy, and to seek its import. The tomb at Ephesus was opened, and it was found to be even as the King had said. The veneration of the people had already canonised him as the favourite of Heaven, and men believed that his presence among them was fruitful of blessing.

And now their monarch, so distant and yet so dear, lay dying. Around his bed were gathered the lady Eadgyth, Robert his Chamberlain, Stigand his Archbishop, and Harold the Earl. For long time he remained in a trance, from which no man dared to rouse him. Then, still rapt in ecstasy, he began to utter words of strange and direful import, prophecies of woe, mixed with gleams of hope from the sprouting forth of the green tree of England, after the appointed destruction should have swept over it. All present were struck with awe, and ventured not to break in upon that holy rapture. But Stigand's unimaginative and practical mind was not impressed by the sick man's wanderings. He strove with impatient insistance to recall his attention to the earthly needs of the succession. His efforts were successful. Before he passed, Eadward opened his eyes, and in a distinct voice committed the kingdom to the care of Harold his brother. It is certain that in any case the nation had made up its mind that Harold and none other should be its King. Yet all longed for a sure token of it from the royal saint's own lips, and when it came, none doubted that it was God's will.

The story of Harold's election, of his hallowing by Ealdred (which is independently recorded at York and confirmed by the Bayeux tapestry), and of the multiplying difficulties of his nine months' reign, belong to general history. Had Harold been successful, it is possible that the ecclesiastical future of our country might have been wrought on different lines, and that the independence of our Church, which was won at last amid shock and disruption, might have grown with our growth, and achieved its own development without those violent convulsions which have made the name

of Rome a by-word to our people. But such anticipations whether justifiable or illusory, were for ever silenced by the landing of William, the death of Harold, and the incorporation of our Church into the organisation of Western Christendom.

For a moment after William's victory the nation hesitated. Eadgar the Ætheling was elected King. But his support rested mainly on the Mercian and Northumbrian Earls Eadwine and Morkere, and with these William dealt without loss of a moment. The Bishops were in favour of accepting William. A deputation waited upon him, at the head of which stood Eadgar himself. William desired above all things the position of a lawful sovereign, elected by the assembly of the land. At Christmas he was crowned at Westminster; but even as he received the emblem of his sovereignty from Ealdred's hand, and the assembled multitude shouted in loud assent, the noise of their clamour was misinterpreted by the Norman knights, who mistook it for a signal of attack upon themselves, spread fire and sword around, and brought the solemn ceremony to a hasty close. But the end was achieved. William was invested with the majesty of lawful Kingship. The nation was committed to his claim; and any future refusal to obey would be regarded in the light not of patriotic resistance but of mere rebellion.

CHAPTER III

THE NORMAN CONQUEST

WITH the reign of William we enter on a new stage of our history. The system of government which he introduced brought England into close touch with the Continent of Europe, and her Church into line with Western Christendom. For good or for evil, the isolation of the people and the independence of their Church were made things of the past. The land of the country was placed under the Feudal tenure, and the Church was prepared by William's action, though not by his design, for subjection to the Roman See.

The pretext under which William sought and won the crown of England was that Eadward had named him his successor. Beneath this argument lay the assumption that the kingdom was the King's to bestow, a doctrine which had never been accepted in England. The English crown was elective, given by the free voice of Witan and people. Their choice was indeed restricted in the first instance to sons of the royal house: but in default of these they had the right to select the man whom they thought most worthy to reign over them. William shewed that he recognised this right by demanding and obtaining the assent of nobles and people at Westminster before he was crowned. His desire was to be acknowledged as Eadward's lawful successor, and

in all his legal documents he sets himself forth as such.

But a fiction so transparent was not enough to satisfy the moral sense of Europe. It was needful also to enlist the voice of religion in his cause. And Harold's repudiation of the oath taken under pressure of captivity at Rouen gave him the opportunity he desired. To punish the perjurer, to inspire the too independent Church with a stricter ideal of obedience, were projects that Alexander II could not but approve. He gave his blessing to the enterprise, and William was thus able to stand forth before Christendom as the champion of faith and morals, and to present an invasion almost in the form of a crusade.

We have alluded to the introduction of the Feudal system in this reign. This is accurate, so far as it involved the acknowledgment of the King as supreme land-lord. But at the same time William took care not to carry the principle to its logical consequences. He introduced just so much of feudal law as would strengthen the royal authority, but no more. In fact he was careful to maintain the laws of King Eadward in full force, and thus to avoid the disintegrating tendencies of Continental feudalism, which were turning the King into the chief of the barons and the barons into petty kings. Throughout Domesday-Book, that precious record of the internal condition of England before and after the Conquest, there is the same careful anxiety shewn to depict William as Eadward's lawful successor, and not unnecessarily to interfere with grants of estates made by him. This great work is of itself a striking testimony to the Conqueror's statesmanship. No doubt its object was primarily fiscal. It was intended to ascertain exactly

what each man's possessions were, in order that the proportion due to the royal exchequer might be accurately assessed. But the mere fact of William's perception that sound government can only be based on exact statistical knowledge proves him to have been decidedly in advance of his age; and if this course ensured the strict enforcement of his dues, it also set a limit to them to which the subject might appeal.

As the regenerator of the Church, it was incumbent on William to remove glaring irregularities. There can be no doubt that he intended from the first to depose Stigand. But he proceeded with caution in the matter. He treated him with friendship and consideration. He allowed him to be present at his coronation, though Ealdred of York and not he was selected to perform the actual ceremony. Under the pretext of honouring him, he carried him with other leading Englishmen whose influence he mistrusted to Normandy in A.D. 1067, where his presence was required to settle the affairs of the Duchy. It is even possible that the English Archbishop was for a time the guest of his own future successor at the abbey of St Stephen at Caen.

But William's stay in Normandy was cut short by the news of English risings. He returned before Christmas, and landed at Winchilsea; and on that very day the Cathedral of Canterbury, which was believed to contain within its walls the original church of St Augustine, and which had survived the partial destructions of the Danes, was burnt to the ground. It seemed an omen of what was coming; the obliteration of ancient memories, and the reconstruction of the Church's hierarchy. Almost immediately after Wulfwig, Bishop of Dorchester, died, and a Norman named Remigius,

Abbot of Fécamp, was appointed in his place, the first of a long succession of foreign prelates. His consecration by Stigand was no doubt irregular. But William's object was to lull the Archbishop's fears. The irregularity could be set right afterwards. Meanwhile it was expedient to temporise.

In the West of England, which William next subdued, Gisa of Gloucester was allowed to retain his see, but the district was punished by William sending one of the most arbitrary of his lieutenants, Urse of Abetot, to administer it. An instance of his rapacity is recorded in the Chronicle, coupled with the outspoken rebuke it drew forth from a sturdy English prelate. Urse had laid his hands upon some of the estates belonging to the see of Worcester, over which Ealdred of York still claimed to exercise certain rights. Ealdred heard of it, and hurrying southwards encountered Urse to his face. On his refusal to make the restitution demanded, the Archbishop addressed him in the following pithy rhyme:

'Hightest thou Urse?
Have thou God's curse:'

and threatened him with ejection from the Church lands he had seized, which came to pass (we are told) in the days of his son Roger.

Having subdued the South and West of England, William held the Easter Gemot of A.D. 1068 at Winchester. His wife Matilda, whom he had married in spite of the Council's prohibition, now came to England, and was crowned Queen by Ealdred. But the King was soon called away by troubles in Mercia, which, together with the reduction of York, occupied him for the remainder of the year. Then followed the great rebellion of the North, which roused the Conqueror's

fierce wrath, following as it did on the professed subjection of York, and the assurance he had obtained that the whole district was quieted. He vowed a terrible vengeance, and sent Robert of Comines with a somewhat scanty force to deal with the rebels. His course lay through Durham, of which the Bishop Æthelwine was loyal to William, and foreseeing what would happen, endeavoured to dissuade Robert from entering the city, but in vain. The result he had feared happened. The Count and all his men were slain. An insurrection at York followed. William was informed of it, and enquired of his sheriffs how long they could hold their ground before he came in person. They returned answer that there was no immediate ground for anxiety, and that they were strong enough to keep the whole North at bay for twelve months. They had greatly underrated the power of their opponents, and this miscalculation led in the end to terrible calamities. The city of York and its Archbishop were among the first to feel the weight of the struggle. A story is told that Ealdred in connexion with a function he was holding in his Cathedral, had ordered some supplies to be brought into his palace, which were seized by the King's sheriff and his remonstrances treated with scorn. He determined to seek the King in person, and obtain full restitution. The meeting took place in Eadward's palace of Westminster. The King rose to offer Ealdred the kiss of peace, but he refused the greeting and spoke high-hearted words of rebuke. He reminded William of his loyal services. 'When thou wast a stranger, I hallowed thee to king, I gave thee my blessing, and set the crown upon thy head. Now, because thy deeds call for it, I give thee my curse instead of my blessing, as a persecutor of the Church

of God, an oppressor of her ministers.' The story goes on that William, struck with awe, fell down before the Archbishop's feet and asked him what he had done to merit such a sentence. The Archbishop raised him from the ground, explained his wrongs, and not until he had obtained a promise of full satisfaction did he consent to William's prayer that the curse might be taken off his head. Such is the record of the Church of York: but William of Malmesbury gives a version more honourable to Ealdred, in which the curse is evoked not for his personal wrongs, but for the King's cruel taxation of his people. William (he says) was touched with remorse, and sent messengers to Ealdred praying that the curse might be removed. But before they reached him the Archbishop's soul had passed away. Later writers love to trace in the misfortunes of William's later years the effects of Ealdred's curse. Whatever truth there may be in the legend, it is certain that Ealdred's conduct towards the ruthless Conqueror left on men's minds the impression of heroic courage, and they loved to remember him as the last great archbishop of the ancient line, and in popular estimation he was speedily recognised as a saint.

The year A.D. 1069 is perhaps the darkest of the reign; for it saw the Conqueror's threats of vengeance on the revolted North fulfilled to the uttermost. The harrying of Northumbria was carried out by William in person with a merciless thoroughness that left the entire district an uninhabited waste. For nine years it is said that no land was cultivated. Thousands perished of starvation or cold. William held his Christmas feast at York in regal splendour, amid scenes of havoc and desolation such as have never been witnessed before or after in our land. The entries in

Domesday-book sixteen years later, waste—waste—waste—one after another, speak more eloquently than any description of the effects of the Conqueror's vengeance.

William was now master of the entire country, except the Isle of Ely. This became in the following year under the famous Hereward a rallying-point for the last efforts of national resistance. The death of Eadwine son of Ælfgar by treacherous hands drove his brother Morkere to join the insurgent camp. The island was believed to be inaccessible. But William was not to be baffled. His persistence and strategic skill overcame all obstacles. The stronghold was forced, and the greater number of its brave defenders fell into his hands. Morkere was imprisoned in Normandy. Bishop Æthelwine, who had thrown in his lot with him, was committed to the custody of the Abbot of Abingdon, and the rest dealt with 'as he thought good,' a significant utterance, when we remember the barbarity of his punishments. Hereward, with a few unconquerable spirits, made good his escape, and henceforward disappears from the page of authentic history, though legend and poetry speedily clustered round his name.

The last expiring embers of English political freedom were now stamped out, and William was able to turn his attention to what was in his eyes of almost equal importance, the ecclesiastical settlement. To effect this he sought the aid of Rome. Alexander readily consented, and sent Ermenfrid of Sitten, who had already visited England, with two other Cardinal legates, to assist the King with their advice. As a first step, they solemnly crowned him at Winchester, thus sealing with the Pope's authority the earlier coronation by Ealdred.

The King's policy was to fill all the English sees, as opportunity offered, with Norman prelates. In doing this, however, he proceeded warily. York was already vacant by the recent death of Ealdred: Canterbury was to be made so by the deposition of Stigand. The Archbishop was cited to appear before his judges at Winchester, and to answer to the canonical charges made against him. These were three: that he had held in plurality the sees of Canterbury and Worcester; that he had invaded the office and worn the pallium of his predecessor Robert; and that he had obtained his own pallium from the usurping Pope Benedict. The Archbishop could not deny these charges. He could but appeal to the many acts of friendliness that William had shewn him, and to the good faith of his Sovereign. But his condemnation was a foregone conclusion. He was deprived of both his sees, and placed under restraint at Winchester. The remainder of his life was spent in the severest asceticism. The key of the treasure which he had amassed in order to supply the defenders of Ely with means to continue their resistance was found on his person after his death. There is no occasion to accuse him of avarice: the wealth he had accumulated was destined for national ends. His lot in history has been unfortunate, and, perhaps, unjust. A true patriot, an able statesman, and a diligent, if worldly-minded ecclesiastic, he lacked the heroism which the crisis called for, and has left to posterity a name blackened by his enemies without the compensation of a panegyric at the hands of those for whose cause he died.

His brother Æthelmaer was at the same time deprived of his bishoprick of Elmham, and Herfast, the King's chaplain, who, as we shall see, had to endure

Lanfranc's ridicule for his want of scholarship, was put in his place. Æthelwine of Durham was outlawed, and on his death in prison two years after, Walcher, a Lotharingian, was appointed to succeed him. The Church of Durham was reconciled after its desecration during the Northern war, and the body of St Cuthbert restored to its shrine, being conducted with great pomp from the monastery of Lindisfarne, whither Æthelwine had fled with it.

At the Council held at Pentecost two important appointments were made. Thomas, a royal chaplain and treasurer of Bayeux, was given the See of York, and Walkelin, a royal chaplain, was consecrated by the Papal legates to that of Winchester.

At another Synod held at Windsor Æthelric, Bishop of Selsey, or Sussex, was somewhat irregularly deposed, and Stigand, another royal chaplain, appointed in his room. He transferred the See to Chichester.

With regard to Canterbury, William had long since made up his mind. There was one man in Europe, for many years his own trusted friend and counsellor, whom he knew to be pre-eminently fitted for the post. This was Lanfranc, Abbot of St Stephen's at Caen, and sometime Prior of Bec. To him, therefore, the King applied to come over to England and assist him in the reformation of the Church.

Lanfranc is one of those remarkable characters which without reaching the highest level of greatness, achieve with consummate efficiency all the tasks to which they are called. Born about A.D. 1005, the son of a senator of Pavia, and trained in the best schools of Italy, he had early won distinction in the profession of an advocate. The great Italian schools had been founded independently of the Church, and throughout

Lanfranc's career we can detect a freedom of judgment rare among ecclesiastics, which may well be attributed to his early secular training. What led him to resolve on leaving his home and opening a school in Normandy we do not know. Perhaps a perception of the capacity of that race for the grander movements of life may have awakened in him the ambition to become their teacher. Their young Duke was known to reverence the Church, and was reported to be a patron of learning. In A.D. 1039 Lanfranc commenced his career in Normandy at the town of Avranches as a lecturer in classical and theological studies. Some remnants of Greek culture still clung to the schools of Italy. Lanfranc's lecture-hall was speedily filled. Aspiring ecclesiastics crowded to his lessons, and his reputation both as a theologian and as a grammarian became widely spread. Successful as he was, the demands of personal religion do not seem to have taken any deep hold upon him. But one day, under what circumstances we know not, the conviction came to him that his life was not satisfactory. His conscience troubled him, and he resolved to forsake worldly advancement and devote himself as a monk to the service of God. This was in A.D. 1042. Without mentioning his intention to any one, he left his school and set forth to seek some lonely monastery for the fulfilment of his new-made purpose. As he wandered in the forest of Ouche, he was attacked by robbers, stripped of his garments, and bound to a tree. Next morning his cries attracted some peasants, who cut his bonds and informed him that a small monastery was to be found not far off at a spot called Bec. He made his way thither, and lighted on an elderly man in the garb of a monk cleaving wood. This was Herluin, Abbot of the monastery,

a soldier of Danish descent who had served in Normandy, but disgusted with the profligacy and cruelty of his comrades, had fled from the world and founded a humble religious house in the depths of the forest. He himself was entirely illiterate: the huts of his monks were of the meanest description, while his aged mother performed the necessary menial tasks. Herluin shewed Lanfranc his book of rules, which were simple but severe. His deeply spiritual piety soon won him Lanfranc's earnest reverence. He remained with him three years as a penitent, and was employed chiefly in the work of instructing the monks. The brilliant scholar, however, could not long be hid. Rumours of him went abroad, and soon a succession of postulants began to seek out his retreat. Herluin's consent was obtained to an enlargement of the monastery. He made Lanfranc his prior and assigned to him the administration and discipline of the new house. Thus happily placed, the famous teacher once more formed the centre of a band of pupils, who flocked to him from all quarters, and a large proportion of whom rose afterwards to the highest places in the Church. His theological studies involved him in a controversy with Berengar, the great opponent of the doctrine of Trans-substantiation now coming into vogue, which led to a separation between the two former friends.

But it was not in theology that Lanfranc's talents were to shine brightest, but in the field of practical statesmanship, for which a timely accident (as it might seem) paved the way. William had married Matilda of Flanders, who, as we have mentioned, was related to him within the prohibited degrees. The Roman Court threatened excommunication; and Lanfranc had not

concealed his opinion that the censure was just. The Duke desired to conciliate one so influential. He dispatched an envoy, one of his chaplains named Herfast, to lay the matter before the prior. Lanfranc took no pains to conceal his contempt for the ducal emissary, and Herfast returned to his master with so unfavourable a report of his reception that William issued orders that Lanfranc should quit his dominions and one of the hostels be razed to the ground. Lanfranc started for Rouen where William was, and, mounted on a sorry nag, met him on the way. Asked what his errand was, he replied; 'I am leaving your duchy in obedience to your command, and would do so more quickly, if you would give me a better mount.' William retorted 'You are the first criminal I have met who asked a boon of his judge.' But his wrath was modified, and this encounter was the prelude to a life-long friendship. The two men understood one another. The Norman discerned in Lanfranc a sagacious and practised intellect which might lend itself to further his designs. The Italian recognised in William an ambition which it might be his interest to second, coupled with a will which it would be hopeless to oppose. The fruits of their understanding were soon apparent. Lanfranc was sent to Rome to endeavour to obtain the Papal sanction for the forbidden marriage, a task which he was the more ready to undertake because he wished to clear himself from some suspicions of unorthodox tendencies on the Eucharist. He succeeded not only in doing this, but in reconciling the Pope to the Duke's marriage on condition that William should found two Abbeys and four hospitals. This condition was willingly accepted. The Abbeys were built at Caen, that of St Stephen by William

himself, which still stands, bearing in its stern grandeur the impress of his genius. The other was built by Matilda, in a style that was considered more beautiful, if less majestic. Both were enriched with ornament of English design, in metal and needle-work, in both which our countrymen and countrywomen excelled the native artificers. The hospitals were erected at Rouen, Caen, Cherbourg and Bayeux.

Lanfranc was allowed to remain at Bec until the completion of William's Abbey in A.D. 1066, when he was most unwillingly compelled to become its first Abbot and the preceptor of William's children. He filled this responsible position with eminent dignity. Stately and august in presence, and exacting the ceremonial due to his office, he was nevertheless affable in manners and accessible to all who sought him. He continued, however, to prefer the quiet routine of study and teaching to the splendours of rank, and on the death of Maurilius of Rouen in A.D. 1067, declined, probably not without William's consent, the Archbishoprick.

But the time had come when the foremost place could no longer be evaded. Most of the barons expected that Odo, William's brother on the mother's side, Bishop of Bayeux, and lately co-regent of England, would be selected to fill Stigand's place. But William knew too well his brother's fierce and rapacious character ; and the dictates of affection were suppressed in the interests of religion, and good government. Lanfranc was summoned to the post. In vain he pleaded his studious tastes. The King knew his talents, and would take no denial. Matilda's entreaties were added to those of Herluin and the legates, and the Pope, his former pupil, seconded their endeavours. To this storm of entreaty Lanfranc

yielded. He sailed for England, and after an interview with William allowed himself to be nominated Archbishop. He was elected at the Witan in August, and consecrated shortly afterwards at Canterbury by nine English bishops.

The outlook was not encouraging. His Cathedral lay in ruins: the people were strange to him and were reckoned stubborn and uncivilised, and Lanfranc's mind was filled with misgiving. He wrote a touching letter to the Pope, begging to be released from his duties, but was bidden to accept the responsibility to which he had so evidently been called, and to do his best for the disorganised Church of his adopted land.

Next to Hildebrand, Lanfranc is the first Churchman of his time. Less heroic in his conceptions and less covetous of power than the Pope, he excelled him in prudence and sagacity of judgment. His supreme merit lies in his perfect grasp of the problem before him. By appealing to William's genuine religious feeling, by never thwarting his will, he contrived to steer the Church of England during those eventful years with complete success, neither sacrificing its just rights nor coming into collision with the royal prerogative. Though no champion of popular liberties, nor ever quite an Englishman, his detachment from local prejudices enabled him to take a broad view of the national customs, and to support the King in withstanding the novel claims of the Pope. In fact, the King and he worked together in such close concord as to realise for England men's dream of the resuscitated Roman Empire, in which Emperor and Pope were to administer together the temporal and spiritual spheres, each furthering and supplementing the other's heaven-directed rule.

It may be well to pause a moment and mention what were the great principles now coming to the front that were destined to affect the future of Christendom, and more especially, of the English Church. The paramount object that underlay the schemes of Hildebrand, who though not yet Pope had long inspired the Papal policy, was to vindicate before mankind the spiritual nature of the Church's commission. This had in theory been always acknowledged, but its significance had been obscured by the disorganisation of three centuries; and now the rise of feudalism threatened to overthrow it altogether. To the mind of Hildebrand this object could not be secured unless the civil power were subjected to the ecclesiastical. The engine he selected for this policy was the enforced celibacy of the clergy, which should turn them into a separate caste, devoted entirely to the aggrandisement of the Church. Lanfranc's policy was that of Hildebrand, tempered by prudence, softened by sympathy, and, above all, limited by William's despotic will. For William, though genuinely loyal to what he conceived to be the rights of the Pope, was entirely resolved to wield supreme authority within his realm, and to share it neither with Pope nor Archbishop. It has been justly remarked that few, if any, of the prerogatives claimed by Henry VIII had not been already successfully asserted by the Conqueror. The Royal supremacy as conceived in later times, was effectively exercised in William's reign. Among his enactments for securing it the historian Eadmer records the following, which he describes as new to England and does not himself approve:

(1) that no Pope should be acknowledged in England without the King's permission, nor any

Papal letter received until it had been first shewn to him.

(2) that the Archbishop should not promulgate any Canons of Synod, except such as the King himself approved and introduced.

(3) That no ecclesiastical penalties should be inflicted by bishops even for the gravest crimes without his consent.

(4) that no Bishop should leave the shores of England without his authorisation.

The importance of these regulations became evident in the subsequent history. William's principles of Church government were, in the first place, to secure to the King paramount authority in all causes ecclesiastical and civil, and (on account of the semi-independent spirit of the North) to subordinate the Primate of York as far as possible to the Primate of Canterbury. This last endeavour was in contravention of the original plan of St Gregory, who had mapped out the country into two provinces of coordinate authority, London and York, each of which was to exercise rule over twelve suffragan sees. Though this scheme had never taken effect, it was not forgotten. The disputes between the rival Archbishops were a fruitful source of difficulty during several reigns.

In enlisting the aid of the Papacy for his claim to the English crown William had secured an ally endowed with a subtler intellect than his own, with plans more far-reaching, and a purpose even more inflexible. In the eyes of Rome the independence of the spiritual power was intended as the prelude to the subjection of the civil power. When William, in obedience to Papal authority, undertook to destroy the joint ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction which had always existed in

England, he introduced a factor into English life which was destined to involve both Church and nation in the heaviest calamities, and which after more than eight hundred years remains still an unsolved problem. Into this project Lanfranc entered with alacrity. It was congenial to his mind, and enjoined by the authority to which he had been taught to bow. It seemed to follow logically from the divine charter-deeds of the Church, and to promise that independence of action which alone could make her discipline effective. So long as William lived the inherent difficulty it involved was not felt. No collision arose between the two jurisdictions. Lanfranc had no desire to exalt the Church at the expense of the State, nor was he disposed to surrender his judgment to the voice of Papal decrees. But independently of the abuses which might easily arise, and did continually arise, from the immunities of a privileged order, we must also remember that large tracts of human life were in those days assigned exclusively to the Church's domain which have since been wholly or partially transferred to that of the State. It is sufficient to mention the regulations affecting morals, the provinces of testamentary disposition, of education and of marriage. In all these the march of national progress has been inevitably affected by the competing claims of Church and State. It is not implied that any measures of William could have prevented the confusion that afterwards arose. But that this particular enactment helped in no small degree to pave the way for it there cannot be the smallest doubt.

The first business of the Archbishop was to consecrate his fellow-primate. But Thomas refused to take the oath of allegiance to the southern See, and appealed

to the King for support. William heard the arguments, and on the evidence produced by Lanfranc decided in his favour, but with this reservation, that Thomas was to make a personal profession to Lanfranc, which was not to bind his successors unless some final judgment to that effect were pronounced.

Immediately after his consecration Lanfranc wrote to the Pope for his pallium, but his request for its transmission was politely refused. By this time it had been decided by the Roman Court that no pallium could be obtained except by a personal visit. Lanfranc was therefore obliged to go to Rome for the purpose. He availed himself of the opportunity to take with him the newly-consecrated Archbishop of York, and Remigius of Dorchester, who, it will be remembered, had been consecrated by Stigand. Alexander received his old instructor with extraordinary distinction, rising from his throne to greet him. It was objected in the case of Thomas that as the son of a priest he had incurred the charge of irregular ordination, while the consecration of Remigius had undoubtedly been invalid. Lanfranc was allowed to intercede for both prelates: the Pope graciously accepted his intercession, and confirmed them in their sees. He refused, however, to adjudicate in the matter of the precedence of Canterbury, and referred it to the great Council of the English realm.

Lanfranc was a zealous steward of the temporalities of his see, as well as a fearless champion of its spiritual dignity. During the interregnum at Canterbury the charters of several churches and monasteries had been seized and the Church lands appropriated. Odo of Bayeux, who was also Earl of Kent, had possessed himself of many estates of which the Charters had been

destroyed, and these Lanfranc felt it his duty to reclaim. The King ordered the case to be tried at a shire-mote at Penenden Heath. As Lanfranc and the Earl were the chief disputants, they could not sit as judges. Ægelric, formerly Bishop of Winchester, whose age and experience made him a decisive authority on all ancient usages and laws, was summoned to give his evidence. The King caused him to be conveyed to the Council in a waggon yoked with four beasts, and his testimony was entirely in favour of Lanfranc's claims, not only as against Odo but as against William also. It was shewn that the Archbishop of Canterbury had several customs in the King's lands and in those of the Earl, whereas the King had but three customs in the Archbishop's lands. Of the great accession of wealth thus recovered Lanfranc made a noble use. He founded two hostels and hospitals in Canterbury, and largely endowed the Abbey of St Albans, over which seven years later he placed his kinsman Paul.[1] He then set himself to rebuild his Cathedral. This task he accomplished in the short space of seven years, a remarkable instance of his capacity for expediting business; but his structure was not considered quite worthy of the fame of the See. It was almost destroyed by fire in A.D. 1178, when the present cathedral was begun. He also rebuilt the archiepiscopal palace, and placed Gundulf, one of his monks at Bec, to whom we shall refer again, over his household. He changed the constitution of the Chapter from seculars to regulars, which, as the reader will remember, Dunstan had not thought it expedient to do. The monks of the

[1] Some writers speak of Paul as Lanfranc's son. If there is any truth in the report, it would shew that Lanfranc had been married in early life, and before he adopted the monastic life had become a widower.

Cathedral lived in considerable state. Lanfranc, without undue harshness, gradually modified this. He placed them under a prior, and raised their number to one hundred and fifty, and also founded the Church of St Gregory with a body of regular Canons.

In the progress of St Albans Abbey he took a special personal interest. This venerable structure, which disputes with Winchester the claim to be the longest church in our Island, and is now the Cathedral of a populous diocese, is the great surviving monument of Lanfranc's munificence. For though it was not completed in his life-time, it was his purse that supplied the means for Paul to build it. The neighbouring gentry also gave their contributions to the work. A story is told that Ligulf, a country thegn rich in flocks and herds, together with his wife placed two bells remarkable for their musical tone in the Abbey tower. While listening to them in the stillness of the summer evenings, he used to say: 'How sweetly bleat my sheep and goats!' To which his wife would reply 'These two bells blend their voices in one, even as you and I have lived together in the harmony of holy wedlock.'

In this year (A.D. 1072) the dispute between Lanfranc and Thomas, which the Pope had declined to adjudge, was heard before a great Gemot at Winchester, the King, nobles, bishops and abbots being present. The decision of the assembly was wholly in favour of the Kentish metropolis; the Humber was fixed as the boundary of the two provinces; the disputed dioceses of Lichfield, Lincoln and Worcester, which had been claimed by York, were awarded to Canterbury, and its inherent precedence over York acknowledged. Thomas and his successors were to make their pro-

fession not only to Lanfranc personally, but to him and his successors.

About this time Walkelin, bishop of Winchester, began the erection of that mighty pile, which still to a considerable extent remains, and almost overpowers the gazer with its stern and gloomy grandeur. Walkelin attempted another effort, which was less successful. He was of opinion that the canons of a great Cathedral, who are necessarily brought into contact with many departments of business, ought not to be monks but men with experience of the world. His opinion was shared by all the English Bishops who were not themselves monks, and appears to have approved itself to the King. But Lanfranc resolutely opposed it. He wrote to Rome, and obtained from the Pope a severe reprimand to Walkelin and an imperative refusal to allow the change to be made. The Canons whom Walkelin had gathered together were sent back to their homes, and the reform introduced a century earlier by Æthelwold remained henceforth undisturbed.

Lanfranc was now the accepted leader of the Church and the second man in the realm. He began to hold the series of great ecclesiastical Councils which will always be associated by the Church historian with his primacy. Seven such Councils are recorded, held in different places, and always either just before, or more rarely just after, the regular Gemots. Besides these he convened several lesser Synods. It may be said with truth that he laid the foundation of our Houses of Convocation. The present constitution of these Houses, by which each Province has its separate house of Bishops and house of elected Clergy, enjoying equal and coordinate authority, is of course of later growth. But the idea of an ecclesiastical Parliament sitting at

the same time or almost at the same time as the secular Parliament, both of them requiring the royal mandate and authorisation for legislative business, of which the germ is to be traced in Lanfranc's measures, has been fruitful of important results on the history of England. After a hundred and fifty years of suppression ending in A.D. 1845, it survives at the present moment in full activity, with the necessary addition of an elective house of laymen in each province, and the further development of a joint representative Council of the two provinces held annually in London.

CHAPTER IV

WILLIAM AND LANFRANC

IT has been already remarked that the joint object of William and Lanfranc was to fill the English sees with Norman bishops, who could be relied on to maintain the continental customs and traditions. In doing this they had proceeded cautiously and without arbitrary violence. Among English prelates, few, if any, had so completely won the loving reverence of all ranks of men as Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, who was now left as the solitary episcopal representative of the conquered race.

Hitherto no English bishop had been deposed without some colourable pretext. But in Wulfstan's case it was impossible to impute any fault. Not only was he diligent and able in the administration of his own diocese, but his assistance had been sought beyond it by Archbishop Thomas, who had formerly claimed him as a suffragan; and even Lanfranc had appealed to him to visit the recently conquered district round Lichfield, where no Norman prelate dare adventure himself. He was therefore not merely blameless but useful to the Conqueror. Nevertheless his deposition was resolved upon. In comparison with the King's foreign nominees he was regarded as an ignorant man, unversed in Court life, and with no knowledge of any language but his own. He was summoned before the

Synod of Westminster in A.D. 1075, and bidden to surrender his staff and ring to William. The account of what followed this demand, given by Roger of Wendover, is doubtless legendary, but from its picturesqueness and its allusions, points to a very early source. The Saint, in reply to the challenge, confessed himself unworthy of so great an office: but he declared that as he had not received it from William, so he would not give it up to him; then walking to the tomb of St Eadward, he addressed the spirit of the departed King: 'Thou knowest, most holy King, how unwillingly I took this burthen upon me, and how it was thyself who didst constrain me thereto. The choice of the monks was not wanting, nor the petition of the people, nor the consent of the Bishops and nobles, but it was thy will which stood forth chief of all. Lo, now there is a new king, a new law, a new Primate, who puts forth new decrees. They charge thee with error, who didst make me a Bishop: they charge me with presumption in that I obeyed thee, yet will I not resign my staff to them, but I will give back to thee the charge which thou didst give me'—He raised his hand, struck the staff on the tomb, and spake again—'Take it, my lord O King, and give it to him whom it shall please thee.' He then returned to his seat, no longer as a Bishop, but as a simple monk. But the sculptured effigy of the sainted King refused to part with the trust committed to it. The marble closed over the staff, and no efforts of King or Archbishop could move it, till at Wulfstan's prayer it relaxed its hold, and the staff fell into the hands of its lawful possessor.[1] William and Lanfranc were fain to acknowledge the will of heaven. They withdrew their project of depos-

[1] From Freeman's 'Norman Conquest.'

ing the Bishop and confirmed him in the possession of his see.

It may have been at this Council, though Florence of Worcester places the event five years earlier, that William and Lanfranc at Wulfstan's suit gave back to the see of Worcester twelve lordships of which Ealdred, who had held that see together with York, had robbed it.

The simplicity of Wulfstan's character which won him high praise was not inconsistent with a manful defence of his proprietary rights, nor with the adoption of the new style of architecture which the conquerors had introduced. He demolished the church of his predecessor Oswald to make room for a building on a grander scale in the fashion of the times. Considerable portions of his work still remain above ground, and the crypt is almost perfect. When the minster was sufficiently advanced to admit of the monks entering it, and the order was given for dismantling the roof erected by Saint Oswald, we are told that Wulfstan wept. He was reproached by his monks for not rather rejoicing over so great a work, but replied: "I look at the matter otherwise: for wretched are we who destroy the works of the Saints that we may gather fame for ourselves. That age of blessed men knew not indeed how to rear pompous temples, but rather how under any sort of roof-tree to sacrifice themselves to God, and to draw their flock by their example: contrariwise we of the present time vie with one another in heaping up stones, and neglecting souls.'[1]

This was the same man who some years before, amid the first evil days of the Conquest, had made a pilgrimage to Bristol, where he found the traffic in slaves was

[1] William of Malmesbury *Gest. Pont.* 283.

still rife, and by his earnest pleadings and stern denunciations, induced the citizens to suppress it. Not without reason did the people place the aureole of saint-hood on their last Anglo-Saxon Bishop, and it might be wished that his name had been awarded a black-letter place in the English prayer-book.

We may mention some other events of these years which illustrate the condition of the church. Lanfranc, though a monk, was strictly regardful of the rights and privileges of the Episcopal order, which were in danger of being set aside by the Papal practice, then beginning, of releasing monasteries from Episcopal control and making them accountable to the Roman See. These charters of exemption, as they were called, became a fruitful source of evil. An instance of this was shewn by the resistance of the privileged monks of St Eadmund's Bury to an interference of Herfast the Bishop, which they regarded as a breach of privilege. They appealed to Pope Gregory, who ordered Lanfranc to rebuke Herfast, and restrain his further action. Lanfranc complied with the letter of his instructions, but in such a manner as to shew that his sympathies lay with the Bishop's attitude. Again in A.D. 1074, William had in accordance with his vow at Senlac, founded a great abbey, which he called Battle, on the very spot where Harold's standard had fallen. He did not live to see it consecrated; but was able to obtain for it complete exemption from Episcopal supervision, so that at the election of its second Abbot, Stigand, Bishop of Chichester, instead of summoning him to the Cathedral to be consecrated, was himself obliged to travel to Battle, and bestow his benediction over the high altar of the temporary Church there erected. Another example is afforded by Lanfranc's severe

measures to assert his metropolitan authority over the monks of his own Abbey of St Augustine. There had been serious discontent among them for several years owing to the Archbishop having exacted concessions from their Abbot Scotland, which they held to be breaches of privilege. But the smouldering fire did not break out till after Scotland's death, when the Archbishop took upon himself to nominate a certain Guy as Abbot, in disregard of their right of free election. They refused to receive him, and a large number left the building and set up a rival community close by. Lanfranc was not a man to be intimidated. He forced Guy upon them at the sword's point; treated the rebels with extreme severity, and caused one of them, a Scot named Columban, who had confessed to a design of murdering the new Abbot, to be publicly scourged and expelled from the city. This happened in A.D. 1087.

In this instance, perhaps, the violent measures of the Archbishop were necessary. In another case of rebellion which occurred at Glastonbury, the violence of the Abbot was the cause of the outbreak. Æthelnoth, the English Abbot, had been irregularly deposed, owing to suspicions, probably unfounded, of his loyalty. Thurstan, a monk of St Stephen's, Caen, was chosen by Lanfranc as his successor. He was a man of fierce temper, and exercised his powers with the utmost harshness. Among other novelties unpalatable to the monks, he insisted on their discontinuing the old Gregorian chanting and substituting for it a new Norman chant. The monks expostulated. Thurstan called them together, and after a threatening but ineffectual harangue, summoned his archers, who were ready at hand, and bade them shoot the recusants, even as they clung to the altar. Three were slain, and

eighteen were wounded. The case was heard before the King, who having satisfied himself that the chief blame rested with the Abbot dismissed him from his office and sent him back to his cell at Caen. But in William Rufus' time, Thurstan purchased his recall by a heavy bribe, and enjoyed his ill-gotten preferment till his death.

An incident occurred during this period (A.D. 1075) which led to the darkest action of William's life, the judicial murder, for it was nothing less, of the great Earl Waltheof. Roger Earl of Hereford, son of William Fitz-Osbern, late regent of the North, in opposition to the King's will, gave his sister Emma in marriage to the Earl of Norfolk. At the bridal feast a great company of notables was gathered together, who plotted treasonable designs against the King. Among the guests was Waltheof, now Earl of Huntingdon and Northampton, who had been reconciled to William at the close of the rebellion in the North, and had received his niece Judith in marriage. What share he had in the conspiracy is not certainly known: but he seems to have been beguiled into taking an unjustifiable oath, and to have immediately afterwards repented of it. He repaired to Lanfranc and asked his counsel. Lanfranc advised him to seek out William, who was in Normandy, and throw himself upon his mercy. This he did, and apparently received William's pardon, for he remained in Normandy until the King's return, having suffered no punishment or restraint. Meanwhile the two Earls broke into open revolt, but were speedily reduced by Odo and Geoffrey of Coutances, with the zealous assistance of Lanfranc and Bishop Wulfstan. On William's return the conspirators were tried. Roger was sentenced to life-long

imprisonment. Waltheof, against whom the only evidence was that supplied by his disloyal wife, was remanded until the following year, when on proofs that certainly were not convincing he was condemned to death. However he might have erred, the instinct of the people told them that his true crime lay in his English blood. They regarded him as a martyr: they loved to tell of his deep repentance and the holy resignation of his end, how he had died at peace with God, and in charity with his enemies. The monks of Crowland, to whom he had been a generous friend, petitioned for leave to convey his body to the Chapter-house. This was granted; and it was soon honoured by the presence of many pilgrims: Rumours began to be connected with his remains that miracles were wrought by them, and within a year or two he had become in popular estimation a wonder-working Saint. When Abbot Ulfcytel was deposed from Crowland, and Ingulf the Chronicler appointed to succeed him, the body of Waltheof was translated to the New Church built by Ingulf, and placed by the high altar. His fame as a saint increased, and some years after a Norman monk who scoffed at his memory was severly rebuked by the Abbot, who beheld a divine vision of Waltheof sitting as a crowned King in the courts of heaven.

After the execution of the English Earl, William committed the Northumbrian earldom to Walcher Bishop of Durham. This prelate did something to revive the monastic zeal for which the region had once been so famous. He restored Jarrow, fortunately sparing Bede's choir, which still remains: and encouraged the erection of Whitby, where Abbess Hilda had exercised her salutary authority long ago, and of the new abbey of St Mary outside the walls of York. Two of his

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disciples, Ealdwine and Turgot (who will come before us again) rebuilt the old house of Wearmouth, which had been the home of Benedict Biscop.

But the Bishop was unfortunate in his officials. His chancellor Gilbert and his chaplain Leofwine were jealous of his friendship for a noble and justly popular Thegn named Ligulf, whom they basely murdered in his own house. The people insisted on a public judgment. Walcher had not disowned his subordinates: his presence of mind failed him, and in the furious tumult that arose, both he and Leofwine met their deaths. William's anger knew no bounds. He sent Odo to wreak vengeance on the rebels, and once more the territory of the North was mercilessly harried with fire and sword (A.D. 1080).

The successor of Walcher was William, Prior of St Carilef, or St Calais, in Maine, who signalised his Episcopate by altering the constitution of the Chapter from seculars to regulars, removing the monks of Jarrow and Wearmouth to supply the Cathedral house. It was in vain that the Canons protested. All but the Dean who was himself the father of a monk, were ejected, and sought a home where they could find it. William laid the plans and began the erection of the Cathedral of Durham, which was completed by his successor on the same lines.

Before going on to relate the passage between William and Gregory, which revealed how far the Popes had travelled on the path of ambition, it will be well to go back a little, and trace briefly the progress of Papal authority since the time of Nicholas two hundred years before. The reader is probably aware that the great legal instrument of the Papal power was the Canon Law, now beginning to be

systematised. The foundation on which this immense structure was eventually reared was the famous Isidorian decretals. There had been codes of Church Law in use for some centuries previous. In the sixth century Dionysius Exiguus, a Roman Abbot, had drawn up a collection of Ecclesiastical Laws professing to contain the decrees of Siricius, a Pope of the fourth century, and of his successors down to the writer's own time. Between A.D. 633 and A.D. 636 Isidore Bishop of Seville published a recension of these decretals, with such additions as had been subsequently made, all tending in the direction of increased Papal power. Charles the Great had received from Pope Hadrian II this augmented Dionysian collection, which had long been sanctioned by Roman usage, and commended itself generally to the mind of the Church, since the need of a final court of appeal was everywhere felt, and no other court was available. The evidence on which the Papal theory rested was therefore historical, or quasi-historical. It proved that the Church *had* as a matter of fact found it necessary to resort to the arbitrament of Rome. But what was required for the advancement of Papal power was a divinely inspired warrant that the Church *must* in all cases have recourse to that authority. This was supplied by the body of Decretals which in the middle of the ninth century issued either from a Frankish or Spanish source, under the venerable name of Isidore. This celebrated compilation, which is now universally admitted to be fictitious, deduces the rights of the Roman See from the action of our Lord Himself, who gave to St Peter plenary authority over His Church. The collection is divided into three parts. The first part contains fifty so-called Apostolic Canons, received

from primitive times in the Church, and fifty-nine spurious letters of Roman bishops, from St Clement (supposed to have been ordained by St Peter), to Melchiades (A.D. 314) in chronological order. The second part opens with the celebrated Donation of Constantine to Pope Sylvester of the Lateran palace, which was the foundation of the temporal power: and contains also the canons of Nicæa and other great councils. The third part contains a number of Decretal letters of Roman bishops from Sylvester downwards (of which thirty-five are spurious) till the time of Gregory II (A.D. 731). It is evident that the writer has embodied in his compilation some already existing, but unauthenticated documents, and has invented others, probably from materials supplied mainly by Rufinus, Cassiodorus, and the Liber Pontificalis. The genuineness of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals was at once suspected by the sagacious and learned Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims; and it is scarcely possible to believe that Nicholas II, who was the first of the Popes to quote them, could have imagined them to be authentic history. But the age was wholly uncritical. The work supplied a want that had long been felt: the historical improbabilities were not such as seriously to disturb men's minds, especially when their testimony fell in with the general tendencies of the time: and even Hincmar himself was willing to appeal to them afterwards, when he could not otherwise silence an opponent.

In these letters it is repeatedly asserted that the Church of Rome was directly constituted head over all other churches by Christ Himself, and that He it was who commanded St Peter to transfer his see from Antioch to the Imperial City. These documents magnify not

only the Pope, but the whole clerical order. It is not necessary to go into their provisions further than to observe that the freedom from secular responsibility which is claimed for Bishops implies their independent jurisdiction. But inasmuch as they could not altogether be exempted from authority, this led on to the theory of metropolitans, this again to patriarchates, and so finally up to the Bishop of Rome, the successor of St Peter, to whom the Lord gave the power on earth to bind and loose.

These decretals were by this time a recognised and unquestioned part of the Church's heritage. All that remained to be done was to deduce from them their logical conclusions, and to apply these to the practical exigencies of the Church's policy. Hence arose the gradual establishment of the Canon Law, which though primarily binding only in spiritual matters, soon interwove itself with every department of human life. In A.D. 1075 the succession to the Apostolic throne was given to Hildebrand, who took the name of Gregory VII. For many years past his acute intellect and powerful will had swayed the Roman policy. Had he so chosen, he might have been elected earlier: but he waited until the time was ripe, and success might be expected in promulgating his designs. His fierce and stormy Pontificate is familiar to all students of history from the humiliation he inflicted upon the Emperor at Canossa. We shall confine ourselves to his relations with William and the Archbishop. In A.D. 1074 in a council at Rome, he had forbidden in the most stringent terms the marriage of the clergy. Married priests were required to separate from their wives, and the laity were warned that the sacraments ministered by married clergy were invalid. This

subject was brought before the English council at Winchester in A.D. 1076, and dealt with in a more compromising spirit than Gregory had desired. A difference was made between the Capitular and the Parochial Clergy. The marriage of the former was unconditionally forbidden, but those parish priests who had wives were not compelled to dismiss them. At the same time provision was made that no further clerical marriages should be allowed and that no bishop should ordain a married man. The conditions of lawful marriage among the laity were also more strictly laid down. Immediately after the council Lanfranc, Thomas, and Remigius paid a visit to Rome, and were received by Gregory with great distinction. They brought back to William the confirmation of certain privileges which his predecessors on the English throne had enjoyed, but the exact nature of these is not specified. Before his return to England, Lanfranc consecrated the great Minster of St Stephen at Caen, which was the fruit of his own earliest diplomatic effort as well as the New Minster at Bec, where Herluin still lived in a peaceful and happy old age. Gregory had not ventured to enforce on William his prohibition of lay-investiture, which was destined in the reigns that followed to set Church and State in collision. But a few years later, while demanding the more regular payment of Peter's pence, he added thereto a claim which called forth from William one of the noblest and most memorable of his utterances. Presuming on his former help in time of need, he sent his legate Hubert to require from the English King the homage due from a vassal. William replied to this double demand as follows:

'One request I have granted, the other I refuse.

Homage to thee I have not chosen, nor do I choose, to do. I never made a promise to that effect, neither do I find that it was ever performed by my predecessors to thine. The money in question, during the three years past, owing to my being frequently in France, has been negligently collected . . . and is now transmitted by the aforesaid legate.'

It seems to have been acknowledged that Peter's Pence, which had at first been a charge on the royal estate for the maintenance of the English college at Rome, was now that the whole land had passed into the King's possession, a lawful impost which Gregory was entitled to demand. But the act of homage was a novel and far more serious claim. It was impossible for William to admit it without surrendering his entire position as supreme Governor of Church and State. His reply was at once dignified and wise. It left no ground for offence in its language, and for argument it relied upon precedent, which in England has always been the surest and most unassailable of pleas. Gregory was wise enough to drop the matter. Nevertheless it remained in the records of the Vatican, to be brought out again before a weaker monarch, and on that occasion to be no more withdrawn.

Lanfranc's attitude on this question was somewhat temporising. In his heart he sided with the King; but endeavoured to persuade Gregory that he had urged him to compliance. The Pope, however, was not satisfied with the Archbishop's conduct. He reproached him with want of zeal towards the Apostolic See, commanded him to come to Rome, and even threatened him with deposition if he failed to do so. Lanfranc was not to be moved. He pursued his course with calmness, secure in the King's approval,

and in the evident progress made by the Church in his hands.

In A.D. 1080 Gregory was himself deposed, and Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, elected Pope under the title of Clement III. Hugh, the legate of the new Pontiff, thought to win favour with Lanfranc by proposing that he should recognise Clement. But Lanfranc wisely refused to do this; he further advised Hugh not to land on the English shores, reminding him that neither the King nor the Witan had yet repudiated Gregory.

Lanfranc's practical wisdom was displayed no less successfully on another occasion. Odo, the King's brother, had filled the whole country with indignation owing to his violence and cruelty. This had burst all bounds in his suppression of the disturbances in the north, which had culminated in the murder of Walcher, Bishop of Durham, to whom William of St Carilef, the originator of the present Cathedral, had succeeded. Odo had by this time amassed immense wealth, and, infatuated with pride, had turned his ambition to procuring the Papacy for himself. He had gone so far as to purchase a palace in Rome, and was on the point of starting to carry out his projects. The King's anger was kindled. He determined on the decisive step of arresting his brother. He met him in the Isle of Wight, and accused him of seducing his barons from their allegiance for an unlawful dominion. None present dared to speak. The King therefore was obliged himself to order Odo's arrest. The Earl-Bishop pleaded privilege of clergy, and threatened an appeal to the Pope. William hesitated: but Lanfranc said: "The King meddles not with Bishops, he seizes the Earl of Kent." Odo was transferred to the castle

of Rouen, and remained a prisoner till William's death.

The reign of William was on the whole advantageous for the Church. His appointments were meritorious, with but one or two exceptions. No instance of a purchased benefice occurs in his reign. Pope Gregory especially commends him for his faithful efforts to secure the purity of the Church. The consequence was that under his rule the prestige of English Christianity revived. The See of Canterbury became recognised as the Patriarchate not only of the English Church, but of that of Ireland also. A movement began in that Church for assimilating the Irish Bishopricks more closely to the English model. Lanfranc held some correspondence with Donatus, Archbishop of Dublin, on this point. After his death (in A.D. 1074) the Primate of Canterbury was called upon by one of the Kings and the synod of his clergy to consecrate a successor. Their choice fell upon Patrick, whom Lanfranc consecrated in London,[1] and, it is said, received his profession of canonical obedience. In A.D. 1084 Patrick died, and his successor, another Donatus,[1] was also consecrated by Lanfranc: and this custom continued to be observed until the time of Henry II.

Another important development in the Church which was due to William's rule was the transference of Episcopal Sees from country villages to the larger towns. Nothing had been more characteristic of the old English character than its love for the country and distaste for town life. The Bishopricks at first had been strictly territorial, and were frequently called after the names of the tribes over which the Bishops presided. The Cathedral Church was seldom reared

[1] This is a Latinised form of an unknown native name.

in a populous town, but far more frequently in some remote village or insignificant township. A tendency had shown itself before the conquest to transfer some of the sees to more important centres. But at the Gemot of A.D. 1075 a decree was passed to make this the rule. Such a decree would not have been necessary in those continental Churches where the Norman municipal system had prevailed. In those countries the Bishop had from the first been associated with a city, and ruled the diocese from it as a centre. In Scotland and Ireland as well as in England the tribal or district appellation of bishopricks had hitherto obtained: as indeed it does to some extent even in the present day. Such sees as those of Meath, Galloway, Argyll and the Isles, still preserve the nomenclature of ancient times. The Lotharingian Leofric transferred his episcopacy of the united Sees of Devon and Cornwall to the capital city Exeter. Hermann, also a Lotharingian, moved the seat of the united diocese of Sherborne and Ramsbury to the fortress of Old Sarum. He died there in A.D. 1078, and was succeeded by Osmund, of liturgical renown, who built the Cathedral Church. The See of Selsey was removed to Chichester: that of Lichfield to Chester, and afterwards to Coventry. Elmham was transferred to Thetford, and afterwards by Herbert Losinga (A.D. 1091) to Norwich, where he reared the great Cathedral, which still retains a considerable part of his work. His example was followed by the Bishop of Wells, who migrated to the more important city of Bath, while Remigius changed the seat of his Episcopal throne from humble Dorchester to ancient and dignified Lincoln. He planned the Cathedral and built some portion of it, but was not spared to see its consecration in

A.D. 1091. This great movement initiated by the Norman prelates gave a decided impetus to the better organisation of the Church.

The mention of Osmund in this connexion leads us to notice another service which he rendered to English Christianity, namely, the drawing up of a model form of liturgy for the general use of his diocese. Hitherto each Bishop had arranged the rubrics of his diocese, and regulated the conduct of worship. The arbitrary changes made by Thurstan at Glastonbury had revealed the liability of such a power to misuse. In A.D. 1078 Osmund at the request of several Bishops put together a carefully selected liturgy which he called the Sarum Use. This was to a great extent adopted in the Southern Province, and with various modifications and interpolations became the standard of our Church till the reign of Philip and Mary. In the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth it formed the basis of our Prayer Book. The sanction of the Archbishop and his suffragans was obtained, and the Bishop of Salisbury was authorised to act as Precentor of the Episcopal College, a title he still retains.

There was one see of peculiar interest to Lanfranc on account of its close connexion with his own, namely, that of Rochester. The Bishop of Rochester was something more than a mere suffragan of Canterbury. There existed a semi-feudal tie between them. William recognised this by allowing Lanfranc to invest the newly-consecrated prelate with the staff and ring, a privilege which in all other instances he jealously guarded for himself. When the see became vacant in A.D. 1076 Lanfranc was able to offer it to his treasurer and former pupil Gundulf. This appointment was highly satisfactory to the King, since Gundulf was

a great architect, and has left us a memorial of his genius in the Tower of London, the most typical in its frowning grandeur of all our Norman fortresses. Gundulf lived through the reign of Rufus, and was a staunch friend and supporter of Anselm.

The rest of William's reign is uneventful for the Church. His last years were embittered by the quarrels and rebellions of his sons, and still more painfully by the estrangement of his wife who espoused Robert's cause against her husband. His severity towards his brother Odo, whom in spite of his faults he warmly loved, has been already mentioned. The Great Domesday Survey occupied the last two years of his life, and, though carried through with inflexible tenacity, cost him much trouble and harassing anxiety. At its completion in A.D. 1086 he was able to convene a full assembly of the nation, and to exact from every person in the realm an oath that he was the King's man, and would be faithful to him against all other men.

It was at Mantes in A.D. 1087 that William's truly wonderful career came to its close, through the stumbling of his horse, which caused so severe an injury that recovery was despaired of. He was carried in pain to Rouen, and from thence to St Gervase outside the walls, where recognising the presence of death he prepared himself for the last change. He desired the comfort of Anselm's presence, but sickness prevented him from attending. He then dictated a letter to Lanfranc confessing that he had taken the kingdom of England by the gift of God and not by legal right, and requesting that his son William might be chosen to succeed him. He was not honoured in his death. His sons, kinsfolk and friends one and all forsook him. It was left to a simple gentleman to provide the necessary

expenses for his funeral. He was carried for burial to his own Minster at Caen; but even there as the service began it was interrupted by a protest from a person whose father he had wronged, who cried out that the soil on which he stood was wrested from its owner by force, and demanded a ransom price. This was at once paid, and the mighty conqueror was then allowed to find a quiet resting-place. His death left the minister he had so firmly supported and so fully trusted, to confront as best he might the difficulties which must surely await an English Archbishop under the new reign.

CHAPTER V

WILLIAM RUFUS

WHEN the tidings reached Lanfranc of the painful circumstances attending the burial of his master, he was so overwhelmed with grief that Eadmer, the historian, who was in attendance on him, says that he feared he would not survive it. He was, however, spared for two years longer, and exercised his great influence in supporting the title and moderating the character of the new King. William the Red had inherited his father's personal prowess and warlike talent together with no small share of his intellectual gifts. He was an able general, and when he willed a firm ruler. He proved himself equal to the task of controlling the turbulence of his barons, and making the bishops subservient to his will. His energy was great, his judgment acute, his wit, when he chose to give it utterance, ready and biting. His temper was violent, shewing itself, when provoked, in savage outbursts of fury, which almost paralysed his speech, and found vent in deeds of atrocious cruelty. The father had been merciless, but not wantonly cruel: the son seemed to lack all those restraining influences which had tempered his father's severity. He was an open scoffer at religion, a daring blasphemer in days when outward reverence was general, and a total disbeliever in any man's purity of motive. He is said to have suggested a debate in which Jewish Rabbis and

Christian Bishops should respectively advocate the truth of their creed, and to have offered to re-convert a Jew who had received baptism to his former faith. His sole virtues were respect for his father's memory, to whom he had been on the whole a dutiful son, and observance of the feudal code of honour, which he scrupulously regarded, while contemptuous of every precept of the moral law.

Such was the man who now mounted the throne of England with the hearty goodwill of the English, and the silent concurrence of the Norman barons. He was crowned by Lanfranc, and began his reign with many promises of good government. Within a year, however, the discontent of the Norman party took shape in the form of overtures to Robert to invade England and unite the two sovereignties. The instigator of this plot was Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, who, it will be remembered, had been imprisoned by the Conqueror owing to his corrupt designs for securing the Papacy. On his death-bed, William had been prevailed upon, against his better judgment, to order Odo's release; but he predicted that trouble would arise from it. Odo was intent upon revenging himself on Lanfranc, and his restless spirit saw no better chance of regaining his forfeited estates than by embroiling the realm. William of St Carilef, Bishop of Durham, was convicted of having abetted the insurrection. He was ordered to quit the country and surrender his Bishoprick. He appealed to Rome, and after some debate was suffered to begin the journey, but finding hospitable entertainment offered him in Normandy, he gave up the project; and a few years later contrived to regain William's favour and the restitution of his see. It is to his zeal and munificence that we owe the erec-

tion of what is perhaps the very grandest of all our Cathedrals.

Fortunately for the King, Robert's indecision and indolence prevented him from crossing the Channel. William's heart did not fail him. He boldly appealed to the loyality of his English subjects, who under Lanfranc's powerful guidance, rallied steadily round him, fought with stubborn courage, and saved the King's throne. Odo was taken prisoner at the siege of Rochester, stripped of all his English possessions and driven from the country. He perished some seven years later while taking part in the first Crusade.

It was the English nation that had secured William's power. They were prepared, had he ruled them justly, to yield him loyal obedience. The field was open for a glorious reign. That, on the contrary, it is handed down to history as the reign of an abandoned and brutal oppressor is solely due to the character of William himself. So long as Lanfranc lived, he was conscious of some restraint, though even then there were signs of impatience, as when he replied to a remonstrance of the Archbishop's, "Who is there that can perform all his promises?" But no sooner was the great Archbishop laid to rest in his Cathedral, than his promises were thrown to the winds, and the true nature of his government became apparent to all. His main object was to recover for himself the possession of all his father's dominions, and he used the strength and resources of England for that purpose. A war commenced in A.D. 1090, which ended in the discomfiture of Robert, who was obliged to surrender a considerable portion of his duchy. The two brothers then made a treaty, by which the survivor was to inherit the other's rights, to the exclusion of their

younger brother Henry's claims. Some years later, in A.D. 1096, Robert, on starting for the Holy Land, and being in need of money to equip his force, pledged the reversion of his duchy to William for ten thousand marks. This vast sum was raised by William by forced exactions from the English people, and he was able by paying it down to take possession of Normandy, and so fulfil the chief part of his purpose. He subsequently reduced Maine also. His warlike successes were not confined to a foreign soil. He turned his arms against the still unconquered subkingdom of Strathclyde, where a relic of the old British nation survived under the rule of Dolfin, son of Earl Gospatric, and added the present County of Cumberland to his kingdom. He rebuilt the City of Carlisle, which had lain in ruins since its sack by the Danes more than two centuries before. Cumberland was administered as an Earldom, and in Henry's time the capital city was made the seat of a Bishoprick.

It is necessary to recapitulate these incidents of secular history in order to understand the attitude of the bishops and nobility in the great ecclesiastical disputes which shortly arose. Cruel and profligate as William was, there must have been qualities in him which called forth men's respect and ensured their submission, if only from a wholesome dread of his ability. As Dr Hook remarks, he might have been *managed*, if anyone with sufficient courage and diplomatic skill had set himself to do it. But the one man whose courage and character were equal to the task, refused to attempt it: and the rest preferred the safer course of flattery to the risks of independent opinion.

In the work of internal administration the chief product of his reign is the rise of the feudal lawyers, and

among these his chaplain, afterwards his justiciar, Ralph, popularly named Flambard or the Firebrand, holds an evil pre-eminence. This man was an ecclesiastic of doubtful origin, whom William lighted upon in Normandy, and soon found in him a congenial sharer of his licentious pleasures, a ready-witted buffoon in times of revelry, and a cunning adviser in all schemes for extorting treasure. He was taken into the King's confidence, and allowed a free hand in glutting his rapacity. Flambard was acute enough to see the opportunity which the recent separation of Church and State gave to the Sovereign. Under the earlier system, the King had presided at the joint Witan of clergy and laity. Under Lanfranc's primacy, the spiritual assembly had been held apart from the secular, with the result that the King, instead of standing forth as the eldest son of the Church, seemed to occupy a position by himself, from which he might confront the Church either as a friend or as a foe. The Conqueror had been the Church's friend; his son might be, and was soon to prove to be, her worst foe. Flambard set before himself as his one object the enrichment of the King. He recked nothing of the hatred of the barons, or of the menaces of the Bishops. William knew how to support those that served him, and so long as he lived, his agent was not molested. Flambard's system was to treat a bishoprick as a fief held personally from the King by the tenure of military service. The Bishop, like the secular baron, was bound to furnish his contingent of men-at-arms for the King's service. When for any reason a feudal vassal was unable to perform this duty, the fief fell back for the time being into the lord's hands. From this theory was deduced the newly-accepted principle that the

revenues of a vacant abbey or bishoprick revert to the King. Flambard suggested to William that he might keep these offices vacant for as long a time as his financial necessities demanded. So convenient a doctrine suited William well. He even improved upon it, by taking care not to surrender his hold upon any church dignity until he received from the applicant a sum of money sufficient to compensate him for the sacrifice.

The inevitable result was the degradation of the higher clergy. In those days, when few laymen were educated enough to perform official duties, the great administrative posts fell necessarily into the hands of clergymen. The more ambitious of these began their training as stewards or court-chaplains, and thus coming under the King's notice, such of them as were unscrupulous and complaisant enough were sure of promotion, if they could afford to buy it. Hence the court became a seminary for clever and profligate ecclesiastics. This process of corruption made rapid strides, and sufficiently explains the unworthy and craven attitude of so many of the Bishops during the King's quarrel with his Archbishop. Some few, like Gundulf of Rochester, retained their integrity, but they were not suffered to obtain influence at court.

Into this state of things came Anselm, the man who by common consent holds the highest place for sanctity and learning of all those great men, and there are many of them, who have filled England's primatial see. We must now relate the course of events which led to the King's choice of him for this post.

Anselm, like his predecessor, was a native of Italy. He was born at Aosta in Piedmont in 1033. His father Gundulf was a Lombard, his mother Ermenburga, a

lady of Burgundian extraction, both of good birth. The character of the former was prodigal, worldly and unsympathetic: that of the latter conspicuous for all the virtues of a Christian matron.[1] As a child Anselm was given to serious thoughts. One night he dreamed that he climbed one of the lofty mountains that surrounded his home, up a steep path that led to heaven. On the way he passed some groups of women mowing the crops (even as they do to this day), but lazily and without interest in their work. He chode with them, and declared that he would complain to their lord. When he arrived at the summit, the Lord with one attendant received him and set before him bread of an extraordinary whiteness, which the boy interpreted as the bread of heaven given him by God.

He was always a diligent student, and at the age of fifteen desired to become a monk. On applying to a neighbouring Abbot, he was sent back to his father, as too young to be accepted. Anselm then prayed God to send him sickness, in order that the Abbot might be induced to consent to his wish. The sickness came: but still the Abbot, fearing Gundulf's wrath, declined to receive him. A few years later, his pious mother died, and Anselm seems to have given himself up for some time to the dissipations of a worldly life. In one of his letters to his sister he laments that he cannot claim the unsullied innocence that was hers. His father's character was antagonistic to his gifted son's: he treated him with such harshness and evident dislike that Anselm fled from his home, and after wandering about for three years, determined to join the monastery

[1] His sister Riceza married a Burgundian noble, by whom she became the mother of another Anselm, who will come before us later in our history.

of Bec, which was then at the height of its fame under the teaching of his countryman Lanfranc. After a short residence there, his father's death put him in possession of his patrimony and gave him the opportunity, if he desired, to start a career of his own. He doubted whether to take the vows, to open a school like Lanfranc's at Avranches, or to lead a secular life of charity. Lanfranc counselled him to ask the Bishop's advice, who strongly urged upon him the monastic profession, which he thereupon adopted, remaining at Bec, as a simple monk, until Lanfranc's promotion to Caen in A.D. 1063 left the office of Prior vacant. Anselm was unanimously elected to succeed him, and from this time his remarkable powers both of mind and character began to display themselves.

His natural disposition was that of a student and recluse, his favourite occupation was to meditate on profound mysteries of religion. But he had also social qualities, rarely found in students, which so attracted men and women to his side, that he found his leisure for meditation and study seriously curtailed. He wrote on this subject to Maurilius, his Archbishop, asking to be released from his duties: a request which Maurilius peremptorily refused. Anselm's presence was gracious and full of charm: his temper unruffled under the severest provocation: his conversation eloquent and instructive, yet seasoned with light touches of homely wit and simple parable. He had acquired a deep insight into the human heart, and was sought as director of conscience by ladies of the highest rank, as well as by many a haughty baron and bishop. His educational enthusiasm was extraordinary, and we hear much of the untiring patience and loving sympathy which he brought to bear, hardly ever with-

out success, on the most refractory of his pupils. Eadmer tells a story of a neighbouring Abbot, who bewailed to him the unsatisfactory results of the system of severe repression which he had practised in his school. Anselm convinced him of the futility of such a method, and urged him to try the opposite course of sympathy and encouragement which he himself had never found to fail.

In A.D. 1078 Abbot Herluin died, and Anselm was called by the unanimous voice of the monks to fill his seat. He was genuinely unwilling to undertake this high post, but after a scene of mutual compliments and pathetic protests of unworthiness on both sides, he consented to their wish. He received his staff from William, and his benediction from Giselbert Bishop of Bayeux.

His abbacy of fifteen years was famous throughout Europe. High as the reputation of Bec had been under Lanfranc's priorship, it rose still higher under Anselm. It was indisputably the first school in Christendom, renowned not only for the sanctity but also for the talents of its inmates.

Anselm is one of the greatest names in all Church history. As a man he stands preeminent for holiness of life and single-hearted devotion to the Church's cause. As a thinker, he is one of the profoundest of metaphysicians, of the most reverent and yet subtlest of theologians; as a writer he is clear and eloquent: while as a teacher, he vindicated so successfully the right of reason to deal with doctrinal mysteries that he became the founder of the great line of schoolmen, and fixed for near two centuries the path of reconciliation between reason and faith. Against these shining qualities two defects must be set. Though a really great prelate, he

lacked capacity for practical statesmanship. Fighting for a lofty ideal, he disdained to take into account the exigencies of the existing situation, and in dealing with his sovereign contrived to exasperate where he believed he was conciliating, and stood inflexible where concession might have answered. In this respect he must compare unfavourably with Lanfranc. Moreover, one cannot help noticing in him a tendency to spiritual pride. He was always so sure of his own judgment that he displayed what at times looks like a contemptuous pity for the ignorance of his opponent. His very serenity of temper carried something of irony with it. And even the habitual reverence with which he was regarded did not induce the chief actors among whom he moved to ally themselves with him. Not only did the English prelates and barons stand aloof, but the Pope himself, in whose cause he sacrificed all he had to give, proved to say the least a very half-hearted defender.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that Anselm was one of those men raised up by God at the time of need to battle unflinchingly for truth and righteousness when it seemed that both were to be overwhelmed by the torrent of violence and profanity.

The Abbey of Bec possessed certain estates in England, and on more than one occasion Anselm had visited our shores. An interesting anecdote is preserved of one of these visits, when Anselm was Lanfranc's guest at Canterbury. Lanfranc had been considering the claims of his predecessor Ælfheah (St Elphege) to sainthood as a martyr. He objected to allowing them on the ground that the Archbishop, though butchered by the Danes, did not suffer for confessing Christ, but because he refused to pay a

ransom for his life. He mentioned his doubts to Anselm, who persuaded him to withdraw them, and to recognise Ælfheah as a martyr and saint. He pointed out that the greater involves the less: that if the Archbishop preferred death to enriching the heathen with the Church's treasure, this could only have been because he was above all things loyal to Christ. Could a man have refused martyrdom, who was content to die for a much smaller cause? Would a man who rejected the lesser sin of purchasing life have been likely to fall before the greater one of denying his Lord? If John the Baptist is rightly reckoned a martyr for daring to rebuke a King, Ælfheah has an equal title as having died for righteousness' sake. This reasoning entirely convinced Lanfranc, who gave orders for the veneration of St Ælfheah at Canterbury with special honours, and to this day he keeps his place as a black-letter saint in the Calendar of our Church.

After Lanfranc's death men's eyes in England turned towards Anselm as the fittest man to occupy his throne. Anselm was well aware of this; and dreading above all things the fulfilment of a plan so hostile to his peace, refrained from again visiting England. Meanwhile William had with his scandalous effrontery kept the see vacant for four years, during which he enjoyed its princely revenues. In A.D. 1092 Hugh of Avranches, Earl of Chester, an old friend of Anselm's besought him to visit his Earldom, in order to assist him in substituting Monks for Canons in the Minster of S. Werburgh at Chester. Anselm, however, pleaded various excuses for not complying with the request. He then received a more urgent message entreating his presence at his friend's bedside, and begging him to consider whether he could answer before the Divine Judge if he refused to

minister consolation to a dying man. Anselm was not proof against this argument. He reached Canterbury on September 8th, but finding himself hailed by monks and people as their future Archbishop, he refused to stay in the city, and hurried forward on his way to Chester.

During the journey he visited the Court, where William received him with great distinction, but said nothing about the Archbishoprick. A private interview was arranged between them; at which Anselm instead of ingratiating himself by courtly speech, assumed the spiritual father, remonstrating with the King on the profligacy of his life and court and his oppression of the Church. This was probably the beginning of that personal dislike, which afterwards developed into positive hatred on William's part. Anselm left him and proceeded to Chester, where he found the Earl restored to health, and assisted him in effecting his reforms, besides attending to the business of the Abbey. This took five months, after which Anselm desired to return to Bec, but was refused permission from the King. William felt, no doubt, that he could not much longer defer the appointment to the Primacy; he knew that public opinion marked out Anselm for it, and perhaps suspected that he might be sufficiently ambitious to offer a handsome sum for its acceptance. This seems to be indicated by his words at the Council of Gloucester soon after, when one of his barons spoke in praise of Anselm as a man above all desire of earthly greatness. 'What even of the Archbishoprick?' he replied: 'He would throw himself at my feet for the chance of it; but by the holy face of Lucca[1] (his favourite

[1] This celebrated Crucifix was supposed to be the work of Nicodemus. It is believed to be still existing in the Cathedral of Lucca.

oath) neither he nor anyone at present shall be Archbishop but me.'

It was at this Court that a noteworthy incident occurred. The Bishops and nobles took counsel together about the depressed state of the Church, and besought the King's permission to proclaim a fast, and to draw up a form of prayer for use in all Churches that the King might be guided to act for the best interests of the Church. William gave a contemptuous assent, adding 'This will not prevent my doing as I please.' The extraordinary part of the story is that Anselm was requested to compose this prayer, and that he consented to do so. We cannot doubt the simplicity of Anselm's motive: but in the eyes of a worldly and irreligious King, his action gave some colour to the sarcastic innuendo that has just been quoted.

Shortly afterwards, the King was seized with illness, and becoming worse, thought himself to be dying. His courtiers were of the same opinion; they urged him to undo the evil he had done and to seek the ministrations of Anselm, who was lodging at no great distance from Gloucester. The King consented to receive him; Anselm obeyed the summons, and on his coming instructed William to make confession of his sins and promise amendment of life in case of recovery. The King promised restitution and good government for the future, and in token of his sincerity sent an offering to be placed on God's Altar. The public sentiment was appeased, and prayers were offered for his recovery. The courtiers then approached his bedside, and implored him to nominate an Archbishop. Though all desired the same man, none had the courage to name him. They left it to the King to signify his will. The King, raising himself a little,

pointed to Anselm, and a shout of joy arose. Then followed one of the strangest scenes recorded in history. While everyone pressed forward and urged his acceptance, Anselm, as if the idea was new to him, absolutely refused to entertain it. William, now seized with terror, prayed him, if he did not want to wreck his master's hopes of salvation, to grant him the boon. But Anselm moved not. Then the King ordered all those present to throw themselves at his feet. The room was filled with nobles and bishops prostrate and weeping, begging him not to abandon the Church to orphanhood. But Anselm in his turn fell on the ground, and implored them to desist. At length he was seized by force, and dragged to the royal couch, that the King might place the ring upon his finger and deliver the staff. Anselm clenched his fist so firmly that it could not be opened. The pain, however, forced him for a moment to raise his finger, and though he closed it again, the staff was pressed against his arm, and held there by King and bishops till it was duly delivered. The crowds outside shouted with triumph, and the resisting prelate was carried violently into the Church, crying out 'It is naught, it is naught that ye do.' The ceremony ended, he was again conducted into the royal presence, when he thus spoke: 'I announce to you, my Lord King, that ye shall not die: and I would have you see to it how you may best amend that which you have done to me, for I have never allowed, nor do I allow it, to be valid.' He then withdrew, and turning to the courtiers who stood round he told them that what they had done was 'to yoke a strong young bull and a feeble old sheep to the plough, which is folly,' for 'This plough of England two oxen strong above others by guiding draw, and by drawing guide:

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to wit, the King, and the Primate of Canterbury; the one by secular justice and command, the other by divine doctrine and authority. This the late King and the late Archbishop were well able to do, but the present King and I can never do it.' He went on to predict the orphanhood of the Church and the unchecked violence of the King, if this appointment were confirmed. He declared himself unable to consent, even if he were willing, since he was not a free agent. The monks at Bec, the Archbishop of Rouen, the Pope himself, must needs be consulted, and to these he must go and find out whether they would release him. The King, however, forbade him to leave England. He therefore sent letters to each of his correspondents, who with one accord approved his appointment and bade him accept God's will.

Eventually his scruples were overcome, and he gave his consent. But before doing so, he laid down certain conditions on which alone he would undertake the post. The first was that the King should restore to the Church of Canterbury all such estates of the see before Lanfranc's time as had not yet been recovered. The second was that William should accept him as his spiritual counsellor, and in all matters ecclesiastical be guided by his advice in preference to any other. The third was that as the King had not yet acknowledged either of the rival Popes, Anselm should be allowed to acknowledge Urban, since he had been already committed to that course while at Bec. To this last condition the King returned an evasive answer, promising that it should be well considered. With regard to the estates he was willing to bind himself. Calling into his presence William of Durham and Robert Count of Meulan he replied, 'All the lands of

which the Church was seized in Lanfranc's time, I will restore on the same footing as that on which he held them, but will at present make no agreement respecting those which he himself did not administer. But in these and other matters I will repose such trust in you as I ought to do.'

The King then, having received the consent of Normandy to Anselm's appointment, convened a court at Windsor, and asked Anselm to revoke his claim to the lands which William, after Lanfranc's death, had assigned to his friends as hereditary fiefs. This difference between them led to Anselm's endeavour to resign his post. But the whole people was so stirred with indignation that William found it necessary to temporise. He summoned Anselm to Windsor, and promised so fairly that Anselm was induced to retract his resignation and do homage to the King.

The consecration took place in December 1093 at the hands of Thomas of York and all the other Bishops except Wulfstan and Osbern. When the preamble of the deed was read, the expression 'Metropolitan of all Britain' was found in it. To these words Thomas took exception, and proposed to substitute for them 'Primate of all Britain,' and the alteration was then and there made, and has stood ever since.

About the same time Robert of Bloet, the King's chancellor, was appointed to the diocese of Lincoln.[1]

Thus after an interval of more than four years the clergy of England once more found a head. The scandal had been notorious: the mischief done was not

[1] His Archdeacon was Henry of Huntingdon, who with Florence of Worcester, William of Malmesbury, and Ordericus Vitalis, a Norman, are our chief authorities for these reigns. The events of Anselm's life are recounted in Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi* and *Historia Novorum*.

to be removed for many a long day. Great as was the fame and pure as was the character of the new Archbishop, and high as were all men's hopes, Anselm's misgivings were only too well justified. His insight into the human heart had told him unerringly that the man with whom he had linked his life was not to be influenced by him. It is possible that a prelate of greater astuteness and more worldly training might have succeeded where Anselm failed. But even in that case it is doubtful whether spiritual religion would not have suffered more than could be compensated for by any outward discipline. For Anselm stood for the cause of righteousness and God's law: and though his championship of these took a form which led to wrath and conflict and disaster, yet in its essence it was both justifiable and necessary if religion was to rule in men's hearts.

The rest of William's reign is almost entirely taken up with their great controversy, which demands a separate chapter.

CHAPTER VI

WILLIAM AND ANSELM

THE character of Anselm's primacy has been variously judged according to the prepossessions or point of view of the writer. By some minds it is taken almost for granted that a man so preeminently holy must be justified in all his acts of opposition to an irreligious and tyrannical monarch. By others, the undoubted fact that Anselm was a thorough-going Papist is held reason sufficient for condemning severely those parts of his policy which overrode the ancestral freedom of the national Church and for suspecting the motive of the rest. Others again, while admitting his sanctity, blame him for his want of statesmanship; while others, as the late Dean Church, warmly defend his entire attitude, on the ground that no other course of action could have successfully vindicated the right of Christ's Gospel to govern the conscience of mankind. It is well to remember that in this controversy as in so many others, all the right was not on one side, nor all the wrong on the other. We may admire and even sympathize with Anselm's contention, but we ought not to forget that William was defending customs which his father had raised into laws of the realm, and some of which had existed for centuries in our Church.

At the first glance it would appear as if the history of these ages revealed nothing but a fierce struggle for power. In every sphere of life, men fought not so much

for rights as for supremacy. The King and the Barons, the Pope and the Bishops, the Pope and the Emperor, were arrayed against one another in internecine strife. The feudal tie of homage to a lord was coming to be everywhere recognised as the ultimate basis of social life. At its best this principle, if universally applied, would have subordinated the Bishops as feudal lords to the will of a strong monarch, himself a dutiful son of the Church. At its worst, it would have laid the spirituality under the heels of savage and irresponsible tyrants, and made the Church's Divine authority an empty name. But underneath this frantic struggle of mere violence there lay mighty ideas, which were slowly but surely finding expression. The greatest of them all, the one which was most in danger of being obscured, was the Divine Commission of the Church; the fact that her authority comes from God and not from man; that princes can never acquire rights over the Church in her own province, however these may have been wrongfully assigned to them; that they can neither wield her powers nor alter her laws. Those laws are the laws of faith and holiness, and the outward expression of them at that time was the unity and the discipline of the Church.

Now it was for these laws as then expressed and understood that Anselm contended. We ought not to import the modern interpretation of their scope into our estimate of his position. This would be both unscientific and unjust. For instance, the constant stipulations made by Ecclesiastics and by Anselm among them, for the pecuniary rights of benefices, are so repugnant to modern ideas that we are tempted to regard them as the product of mere grasping covetousness. And in too many instances it cannot be

denied that this was the case. But there is another side to the question. The tenure of Church lands stood on a different footing from that of secular estates. The founder of a Church estate had made over and renounced all his proprietary rights when he endowed it. His heirs had no claims over it, for it had been devoted to God, ostensibly at any rate to promote His worship, and the donor had received his equivalent in the prayers of the clergy and the furtherance of his own salvation. Moreover, the Church lands formed the only existing machinery for the education of youth and the support of the indigent poor. We need not suppose that in insisting upon the Church's financial rights, the monks and clergy lost sight of these higher considerations, and acted from mere class-selfishness or fanaticism. In Anselm's case, at any rate, such unworthy motives are out of the question.

We have said that the Church's Unity and discipline were the recognised expression of her spiritual authority. Now that authority in itself was not disputed by anybody. Even Rufus acknowledged it, mocker and blasphemer as he was, nor in spite of his profanity did he ever fall beneath the Church's ban. The Christian revelation was accepted by all as self-evident; and the very men who by their cruelty and licentiousness set its principles at nought, were loud in their professions of loyal submission to its decrees. The times when the unity of the faith was threatened with disintegration by heresy had long passed away. The enemy now was not intellectual error but unblushing wickedness in high places. The only power that could for a moment hope to withstand this wickedness was the voice which sounded from St Peter's seat. To this all alike professed to bow: and the most urgent

need of its occupant was to make that voice effectual. This reflection enables us to understand the importance attached by Anselm to his recognition of Urban as Pope. It is true that the King claimed, and not unjustly, the right to dictate to his subjects which Pope was to be recognised. But it is also true that Anselm, in refusing to obey, was appealing to a still higher law, that of the visible unity of Christ's Church to which he was bound by conscience. The confusion of the time mixed up two great principles, each right and just: and it is small wonder if men's minds were unable to disentangle them. The same reasoning should be applied to the other issues on which Anselm was so unbending: for example his refusal to pay the Heriot or relief claimed by custom from a feudal lord on receiving a vassal's homage. To Anselm's mind this appeared as Simony, the offering of money in return for a spiritual office: and neither the King's anger nor the disapproval of all the English bishops could induce him to alter his view. He regarded William's methods as rebellion against the Church's law of holiness, of which in England his office made him the chief guardian, and he could not understand how the Bishops who were bound by the same vows as himself, were able to accommodate their consciences to the King's claims. The fact was that while all those in power admitted the Church's authority over others, and were generally ready to appeal to it, they all expected it to be relaxed in their own case, and were ready by every method of violence or chicane to evade its application to themselves. No better example of this inconsistency can be given than the story told of William, Count of Poitiers, who for a grave act of immorality was excommunicated by his Bishop Peter. Finding the Bishop's censure intolerable to him, William

invaded his chamber, approached him with drawn sword, and seizing him by the hair, threatened him with instant death if he did not absolve him. The Bishop asked for a moment's grace. The Earl relaxed his grasp, and the Bishop calmly began to repeat the words of excommunication. The Earl was awed by his courage, and left him saying 'Thou shalt not get to heaven by my help.' In our days if we could conceive such conduct, we should regard it as the vilest hypocrisy. But this would be a wholly erroneous judgment to apply to the Count of Poitiers. He believed while he threatened: he quailed while he disobeyed.

Let us now return to the history of Anselm's primacy: The King was fitting out an expedition against his brother Robert, and required a subsidy. Anselm sent a contribution of £500, which William was at first inclined to accept, but on his courtiers representing it as unworthy of so great a prelate, he refused it. Anselm promised, if it were accepted, that the King should not find him backward on occasions of future need; but the King angrily replied 'Take your property and your scoldings away. My own resources suffice me.' Anselm reflected that had the money been accepted, it might have been construed as the price of his Archbishoprick: he therefore announced his determination to spend it on the poor on behalf of William's soul.

He then retired to one of his villas: and while there received a message from St Paul's, London that the Bishop of London desired to dedicate a Church in the city which was built on a Canterbury demesne. He wrote to Wulfstan as the most likely to know the ancient customs of the realm for information how to act, and was confirmed by him in his own opinion that the Archbishop had sole jurisdiction in his estates in

whatever diocese they might lie. This decision was in accordance with the policy of Lanfranc as narrated by Eadmer in a somewhat similar situation. Lanfranc had heard that the Archdeacons of Stigand, Bishop of Chichester, had levied dues from the clergy of the Canterbury estates in that diocese. He wrote to Stigand pointing out that this was an infringement of the metropolitan's rights: that the Bishop had no disciplinary or financial authority over these clergy. They had been allowed to attend his synods though not to vote in them: but Lanfranc expressly laid down that it was part of his own pastoral duty to visit all such estates, and to inquire into the efficiency of their holders.

Shortly afterwards, the whole court repaired to Hastings to give God-speed to the King. Anselm came among them, and was greatly shocked by the dissoluteness of the younger nobles and the effeminacy of their attire. In a sermon preached on Ash-Wednesday he rebuked them with such severity that many came to him as penitents.[1] In an interview with the King on the same occasion he begged permission to hold provincial synods, which the decay of discipline loudly called for. The King asked him what subjects he proposed to discuss. Anselm replied: 'The sin of Sodom, amongst others.' The King turned from him in anger, but Anselm pressed him, remarking 'There are many Abbeys deprived of their head: many monks, who live in luxury and die unconfessed: to remedy this will contribute to your salvation.' The King's answer is instructive: 'What is this to you? are not my Abbeys my own? you do as you please with your estates: why cannot I do as I please with my Abbeys?'

[1] Compare ch. ii. page 37.

In vain Anselm explained that these Abbeys were held in trust by the King for the benefit of religion. This he could not or would not see. He dismissed the Archbishop saying: 'Your remarks are entirely displeasing to me: your predecessor would never have dared to speak so to my father.'

Perplexed at the King's attitude, for which he could make no allowance, Anselm consulted his fellow-bishops: but the only advice they gave him was to double his former offer, assuring him that a gift of £1000 would not fail to bring William to reason. This he indignantly declined to do, and received next day the following message: 'Tell him that I hated him yesterday, and hate him worse to-day: and let him know that to-morrow I shall hate him worse than ever. I count him no longer as father or Archbishop, but refuse and execrate his benediction and prayers.' This was William's parting shaft. He then left for Normandy and did not return till the following year.

It now became necessary for the Archbishop to fetch his pallium from Rome. He applied for leave to go to the Pope. William replied, 'Which Pope?' For after Gregory's death in A.D. 1086 the Abbot of Casinum had been elected as Victor III, and on his death in A.D. 1088 Odo, Bishop of Ostia, as Urban II, while Wibert or Guibert, the Emperor's candidate of A.D. 1083, still claimed to be the rightful Pope. Anselm answered as the King expected, 'Urban.' The King replied that as neither he nor the Witan had acknowledged Urban, the Archbishop had no right to do so. In vain was he reminded that Anselm had expressly reserved this right on accepting the see. He felt he had a sound legal and constitutional case, and was resolved to put Anselm in the wrong. Anselm prayed that a council might be

called to decide his claim. To this the King consented, and the Council met at Rockingham Castle in Northamptonshire on Passion Sunday A.D. 1095. Anselm had sought counsel from his suffragans how best to appease the King, but their only advice was to place himself unreservedly in the King's hands. The King and his counsellors sat in one chamber, Anselm in another: intermediaries were employed to carry messages to and fro. A long debate was held, in the midst of which the Archbishop fell into a placid sleep, from which he was roused by a peremptory message that his conduct was such as to rob William of his crown, and requiring him to sue for pardon. William of Durham, a practised diplomatist, high in his master's confidence, strongly advised William to exact an immediate answer, offering the alternatives of submission or the penalty for forfeiting his allegiance. Thus driven to bay, Anselm replied: 'Whosoever desires to prove that I have violated my allegiance to the chief Bishop of the holy Roman Church, let him come forward, and in God's name he shall find me ready to answer both as I ought and where I ought.' Thus (says Eadmer) to the consternation of the courtiers, and the surprise of the King himself, was announced the doctrine that the Archbishop of Canterbury can be judged by none except by the Pope, nor be compelled to plead before any other than his tribunal. William's anger was roused against his advisers who had brought the matter to so awkward a pass. The Bishop of Durham counselled forcible deprivation. But this counsel was not approved by the rest. 'If this suits you not, why did you allow me to quarrel with him? In my own kingdom I will tolerate no equal. If you will not condemn him, then, by God's

countenance, I will condemn you.' Robert of Meulan replied: "What to counsel I know not. For while we debate, he sleeps peacefully, and when we declare our arguments, he snaps them with his logic as if they were spider's webs.'

In vain did William turn first to the Bishops and then to the nobles. The Bishops declared with one voice that they had no power to judge him. All they could do to shew their loyalty to the King was to withdraw their obedience from the Archbishop, which, with two exceptions, they announced their readiness to do. The nobles for their part declared that they could not renounce allegiance to Anselm because they had never promised it; and as moreover, he was their duly appointed spiritual father, and had done nothing to forfeit that position, they could not refuse to recognise him. The King would gladly have seen him leave the kingdom, but not while retaining his Archbishoprick, yet he could find no opening for depriving him of it. A respite was granted till Pentecost, when, if no agreement was made meanwhile, the question was to be resumed at its present stage. William had however already taken measures which he hoped would bring him satisfaction. He had despatched an embassy to Rome to find out who was legally Pope, to give him his recognition and bring from him the Archbishop's pallium, that the King might bestow it on whom he would. Finding that Urban's claims were generally acknowledged, he offered him (it is said) a heavy bribe if he would consent to Anselm's deposition, a proposal which it is needless to say Urban rejected. William was now at a loss how to act. The Nobles and Bishops were all anxious for a reconciliation, and again implored Anselm to make the King a present,

if only to compensate him for the expenses of his embassy to Rome. But nothing could move the Archbishop, and his constancy so far prevailed that the King was disposed to condone his conduct and allow him to continue in his office. He attempted, however, in return for this forbearance, to induce Anselm to accept the pallium from his hands. This was resolutely declined, and a final arrangement was made that Walter of Albano, the Papal legate who had brought the pallium to England should place it upon the high altar of the Cathedral, and that Anselm should take it thence as if from St Peter's hands. This was done: the pallium was brought to Canterbury in a silver box, taken from the altar by Anselm, duly vested but with unsandalled feet, and reverently kissed by all the Bishops present. Two of them, Robert of Hereford and Osmund of Sherborne, asked his forgiveness for their late rebellious attitude. It seemed now as if there was to be a lull in the storm: Baldwin, Anselm's Chancellor, whom William had at the outset of the quarrel banished from England, was permitted to return and assist his master as before. Two English Bishops were consecrated, Sampson to Worcester and Girard to Hereford, and Samuel of St Alban's was consecrated to the Irish Archbishoprick of Dublin.

Meanwhile all Europe was stirred to its depth by the preaching of the first crusade. Robert of Normandy, who with all his faults was often swayed by noble impulses, and always a zealous son of the Church, left for the Holy Land. William, it can hardly be doubted, regarded the popular enthusiasm with contempt, and sought to turn it to his own profit. His oppressive taxation in order to raise the amount demanded by Robert as the mortgage-price of his Duchy has already

been recorded. Anselm was obliged to withdraw a very large sum from the Cathedral treasury; but to avoid a doubtful precedent, he mortgaged his own private estate of Peckham to the see for seven years. In time the property passed to the see, and was applied in additions to the east end of the Cathedral.

It was in this year that Anselm at the request of the Irish King Murierdach founded the see of Waterford, and consecrated Malchus as its first Bishop.

In due time the King returned from Normandy, and found it necessary to make an expedition into Wales. He asked Anselm for his contingent and obtained it, but expressed dissatisfaction at its defective equipment. Anselm thought it best to yield, but seeing the oppression under which the monasteries and abbeys still groaned, he formed a fixed resolve to consult the Pope with regard to the whole situation. Such a request was not likely to be granted. William ridiculed his need of advice: 'You are far better able to advise the Pope than he is to advise you,' he replied. And when Anselm on three separate occasions insisted on preferring his request, he received as a final answer: 'I do not allow his pleas; but if he goes, let him know for certain that I will take his Archbishoprick into my own hands and will hold him no longer Archbishop.' His friends among the Bishops implored him to give up his purpose, assuring him that the Primate of England was great enough to stand alone, that appeals to Rome had never been allowed in the English Church, and that they would all support him if he would listen to their advice. They admitted his purity of motive, and the King's injustice: but they confessed they were but ordinary men, not equal to the sacrifice of home and goods, which his policy demanded from them.

The only answer he vouchsafed them was this: 'Ye have spoken well: go to your master: I shall hold me fast by God.'

Thus it became evident that the quarrel could not be healed. The King made one last effort to break the Archbishop's will. He sent an ultimatum to the effect, that since Anselm had persisted in defying the King's lawful authority, he should either swear never under any circumstances to appeal to the Pope, but to accept whatever judgment should be given for his disobedience, or else should immediately quit the Kingdom. Anselm sought the King's presence, and endeavoured at great length to justify his action; but he was interrupted with cries of 'a sermon: you are preaching at us': the interview was cut short, it was decided that he must embark within eleven days. On leaving the King, Anselm uttered these words: 'My Lord, I depart: if with your goodwill all the better. For though a quarrel has risen between us, I will not withdraw from my love toward you. As a father to a son, as Archbishop to the King of England, I wish to bestow my blessing upon you, if you do not refuse it.'

'That I do not refuse,' said William, and, bowing his head, he received the Saint's blessing, he himself and all present marvelling at Anselm's serene cheerfulness. This was the last scene. The great Archbishop left our shores, not without vexation and indignity up to the moment of his embarkation. He never saw the King's face again, but sought an asylum with those who could appreciate his character, and were only too happy to entertain him as an honoured guest. The story of his long sojourn at Lyons, of his visits to Rome, of his ineffectual application to be

released from his office, of his wonderful defence of the Western Doctrine of the double procession of the Spirit at the council of Bari, belongs rather to general Church history than to the special history of the Church of England. But one incident deserves particular mention. A great council was held at Rome in A.D. 1099 at which Pope Urban presided, and Anselm was assigned a seat in the semicircle round him. The din of voices was so great that Reinger, Bishop of Lucca, a man of commanding presence and powerful voice, was called upon by the Pope to read out the decrees. This he began to do: then suddenly with flashing eye broke off abruptly, crying, 'But what do we? we load the submissive with commands, but the fury of tyrants we stem not. Restitution is sought at this tribunal for all the wrongs of the Church, and with what effect ye may easily see. For there sits in this council a man of highest holiness come from the remotest part of the earth, who has been despoiled and persecuted by the unjust rage of a tyrant, and has come hither to beg the intervention of the Apostolic See. If ye know it not, it is Anselm of Canterbury, of whom I speak.' But the Pope was by no means prepared to be guided by an unconsidered impulse. He quieted his too chivalrous brother, and promised that good counsel should be taken. Men suspected this to mean that he was willing to listen to those reasons more powerful than arguments which William knew so well how to supply. The Council concluded with a re-enunciation of the anathema, formerly uttered by Hildebrand, upon all laymen who gave investitures to churches, on all prelates who consecrated clergy so invested, and on all clergy, who in return for an ecclesiastical dignity made themselves laymen's *men*,

declaring that it was intolerable; and never granted to any English laymen, that the hands which were empowered to create the Creator, should be servitors to hands steeped in every kind of cruelty and vice.

Anselm heard this decree read and assented to by the whole assembly. It made a profound impression upon his conscience, and became the turning point of his whole after life. He returned to his friend the Archbishop of Lyons, where he remained till the death of William in A.D. 1100.

After the departure of the Archbishop from England the King seized on the revenues of Canterbury, and proceeded to such lengths of oppression that men said it was better for the Church to have had no Archbishop than to live under the state of things that followed his departure. The Pope was all this time playing a double game. He conferred every kind of personal distinction on his guest: but he could not afford to break with William. He expressed the utmost sympathy for Anselm, yet when threatening William with excommunication, he withdrew it at Anselm's request. It is clear that he found Anselm an inconveniently zealous champion of his rights, and far too scrupulous a man to be admitted to his confidence. William lived to hear of his death, and being told his successor Paschal was one with whom he would find it more difficult to deal, declared that he should not heed him, nor be prevented from doing as he chose. Soon afterwards he met his own death in the New Forest and was buried at Winchester, unhonoured and unwept.

NOTE ON ST ANSELM AS A THEOLOGIAN

We have briefly referred in the text to the high position that must be given to Anselm in the theology of the Church, as the founder of the line of schoolmen. He may justly be called the Augustine of his age, since like Augustine he laid down principles which found an immediate and fruitful application, capable of widely different developments, each of which claimed his authority. The root of his power as a theologian was his loving faith. In him doctrine and life were in perfect accord. His sense of holiness as man's supreme end is conveyed in his saying that 'if he had presented before him the hatefulness of sin on the one side and the torments of hell on the other, and were left to take his choice between the two, he would prefer to be pure from sin and suffer in hell, rather than to be polluted with sin and happy in heaven.' From this deeply-felt union between divine holiness and the well-being of man's soul, arises the fundamental position of his theological system, 'Faith comes before intelligence:' which had before been stated by Augustine, but now first enters into the mediæval theology.

His spirit was given to contemplation and the bent of his reason was strongly speculative. But there was no danger that in him reason would rebel against faith. His speculation on divine things is not the conflict of the flesh with the spirit. He was not seeking by dint of thought to conquer doubt or regain repose of soul after an inward schism. To him the object matter of the Christian faith is immediately certain. He takes it for granted that what approves itself to the highest experience of the soul will approve itself also to the mind. Faith and reason therefore cannot be opposed: reason is the handmaid of faith and explains its *data* to the intellectual part.

But he sternly rebukes those who soar to the highest questions respecting the faith before they have obtained from faith the wings to soar with. These cannot expect to arrive at truth: for the natural man has no perception of divine things. He who believes not, will not experience: and he who has not experienced, will not understand. To hold the faith in a good conscience is therefore an indispensable condition of attaining theological truth. The spiritual elements that were blended in him became separated afterwards and gave rise to antagonistic processes of thought

which became evident in the twelfth century. The earliest instance of this is seen in St Bernard and in Abelard the celebrated author of 'Sic et Non,' of whom the former regarded a mystic intuition, and the latter a purified dialectic, as the highest avenue to religious truth. The celebrated argument for the Being of God called the Ontological proof is contained in Anselm's *De Veritate* and *Proslogion* and is defended from criticism in the *Liber Apologeticus*: 'God is the perfect being than whom nothing more perfect can be conceived. Now that which has actual existence is certainly more perfect than that which is only conceived of as having it. Therefore God who is preconceived as perfect must have the perfection of being which is actual existence. If He had not this, then it would be possible to conceive of a still higher being, namely, that which had actual existence. Which is against the hypothesis.' It is quite possible to find a flaw in this reasoning, as involving a subtle *petitio principii;* as in every other logical proof of a truth which cannot be demonstrated. But it has a real value as recognising the necessity for the finite reason to acknowledge an absolute Being as existing above all question.

Another great doctrine on which Anselm threw light is that of the Trinity. His views are contained in the *Monologium.* The reader will remember that at the Council of Bari Anselm spoke so eloquently in favour of the double procession of the Holy Ghost that the Greek deputies were silenced. He proceeds by way of analogy from the human consciousness to argue up to the Divinity. As the human spirit comes to the knowledge of itself, and thus produces an image of itself within itself, we must suppose that the same proof holds true, after a heavenly manner, with God. The Supreme Mind knows Himself after an eternal manner, which is the Eternal Word, His most perfect image, of the same essence as Himself. And as God knows Himself, He also loves Himself: and as His knowledge presupposes the Word, so His love for the Word and that the Word for Him, presupposes the Spirit which passes from them both and from one to the other.

But the best known work of Anselm is that on the Atonement, entitled *Cur Deus Homo?* 'Why did God become man?' which it is hardly too much to say has had greater influence on modern conceptions than any other single treatise written since ancient times. It starts from the unity of the human race in Adam, in accordance with which (as there was no other man living), what-

ever Adam did was done by man as such : in Adam's sin, therefore, all mankind are necessarily involved. The men of that time did not deny this, but they asked why God could not have forgiven man, as he created him, by a simple act of His will.

Anselm's argument is an answer to this question. He shews that God's glory consists in the creature willingly carrying out His will. Punishment for sin is not an arbitrary thing, but necessary to the manifestation of God's glory : for if there were no punishment, the righteous and the sinner would be treated alike and God's justice would not be satisfied. Hence satisfaction must be made to God's injured Majesty. As the sin proceeded from one, the satisfaction must proceed from one. And He must be above creation, if His satisfaction is to be complete, in other words, He must be God : and also one with those He represents, in other words, He must be man. In this way Christ, the God-Man, is the perfect satisfaction for man's sin.

Anselm's theory has been popularly misrepresented, as if it drew a contrast between the Father who is implacably just, and the Son who is compassionate : or between the justice of God which draws Him one way and His mercy which draws Him another : or as if God demanded the death of the innocent to atone for the guilty. He says on this point : 'He voluntarily suffered death, not for the obedience of parting from life, but for the obedience of keeping righteousness, in which He so firmly persevered as to incur death thereby.' The idea of a merely passive obedience, an expiation of guilt by the suffering of the guiltless, is not Anselm's. His view is that the satisfaction which Christ gave by His life of obedience was the restoration of God's honour, and by this satisfaction to God on behalf of mankind was the remission of punishment made possible. There are signs that these popular perversions of a great Christian teacher are now losing their hold. It is much to be hoped that his firm grasp of the heinousness of sin and the inexorability of the claims of justice may not be suffered to go with them.

CHAPTER VII

HENRY I AND ANSELM

THE reign of Henry I is of great importance in the history of our Church. In it the ecclesiastical policy of the Conqueror bore its inevitable fruit. The antagonism between the secular and spiritual prerogatives which he had prepared but had controlled by his strong will now burst forth. He himself, by calling on the Pope to decide between two rival claimants for the English crown had made it appear just that the same authority should be invoked between the wearer of that crown and one of his subjects. This impression had been greatly strengthened by the situation under Rufus. The late King had set aside all law but his own will, while the man who appealed against him stood for the cause of righteousness. None the less a precedent had been created to which another King who ruled in accordance with the law of the Church and realm was ultimately obliged to yield. The same Anselm who had defended the eternal principles of justice against William's tyranny was to withstand William's successor, and prevail over him, in a cause which involved no such holy issue.

The character of Henry had been formed by adversity. Alternately cajoled and made use of by his brothers, he had learnt the lessons of watchfulness and craft. A fearless warrior when need called for the sword, he ever preferred to gain his ends by policy

rather than force. The careful education he had received gave him a certain interest in letters. The familiar name of Beau-clerk, was not without justification. He could speak and write in Latin, and must have spoken English also, for we are told that in his youth he was able to translate into English some of Æsop's fables from the Greek, the knowledge of which language was a rare accomplishment for a clergyman and still rarer for a layman. He had a taste for natural history and kept a collection of foreign beasts in his park at Woodstock. This indication of an interest in nature deserves mention, as it was very unusual in those days. His intelligent countenance and milder eye contrasted with the haughty aspect and furious temper of his father and brother. Though perhaps less genuinely devout than his father, he was at least careful to display external reverence to religion and the Church's ministers. He set before him from the first the restoration of English law, as it had been handed down from Eadward and moulded afresh by the Conqueror. He redressed the oppression of his nobles with a strong hand, and gave himself out as the friend of the Church. His justice was severe and effective. It was the boast of his subjects that under the Lion of Justice no man durst rob in the highways. His policy was to make his power felt in every quarter of the land, and his frequent progresses from shire to shire contributed greatly to this result. Though his title was undisputed, he thought it wise to go through the form of an election by the Witan at Winchester, and further secured his position by an immediate coronation. This was performed at Westminster, in the Primate's absence, by Maurice, Bishop of London.

On the same day Henry put forth his charter of

good government, in which he gave back to the people their old laws as sanctioned and amended by his father, and pledged himself to obliterate as far as possible the iniquities of the preceding reign. As a first step, he arrested the notorious Flambard, and committed him as a prisoner to the Tower, allowing him, however, a sufficient maintenance to ensure his personal comfort. Flambard made a characteristic use of this indulgence. He varied the monotony of prison life by convivial entertainments, in the hope of relaxing the vigilance of his gaolers. One evening a cask of strong wine was smuggled in, with which he plied his guards to such effect that he was able to climb down the wall by a rope ladder and make good his escape. A year or two later he contrived to reinstate himself in the King's confidence, and was replaced in his office. But adversity had taught him a salutary lesson. He became, at any rate outwardly, an exemplary bishop, and devoted his last years to the completion of his Cathedral, the plan of which had been drawn up by his predecessor, but for lack of funds imperfectly carried out after that prelate's death. Flambard reared the present majestic nave, and it is his name rather than William's which is usually quoted as having been the architect of Durham Cathedral.

We must now return to Anselm. Immediately after William's death, he received a letter from Canterbury expressing the hopes of the entire nation for his immediate return. A message from the King followed, couched in the most cordial terms. Anselm hastened his journey, and after his long absence again landed in England. He was at once requested by the King to pay the customary homage for his Archbishoprick, but to the surprise of all men he refused to do so,

alleging the decrees of the recent Roman council. Thus began the second great contest between King and Primate, a contest in which it is difficult for us to give our sympathies as fully to Anselm as we were able to do in the former case. The quarrel about investitures has to a great extent lost its interest, and at the first glance seems hardly important enough to justify the bitterness and bloodshed it caused.[1] But it is necessary to place ourselves in the position of those who carried this great reform, in order to appreciate, not only their untiring persistence, but the danger against which they believed it to be the only possible safeguard. As before stated, the feudal conception of lord and vassal which prevailed everywhere, threatened to obscure in men's minds the divinely given commission of Christ's Church. At bottom the feudal relation presupposes a state of society wholly military. The vassal is the lord's man, that is, he is bound in return for his fief, if a noble, and in return for protection, if he is a villein, to be ready with life and limb in his lord's service. This tie of homage was linked with all that is most precious and enduring in human nature. It approved itself to the sense of honour, of loyalty, and truth. It seemed to be based on natural equity: it brought out some of men's noblest qualities: it was within the comprehension of every intelligence: it answered to what all men felt to be the needs and calls of the time. Now the claims of religion to supreme authority in all the departments of men's relations with one another were in that age unquestioningly accepted. As a result, the ministers of the Church everywhere occupied high places and were

[1] It is computed that this quarrel caused fifty-six years of war, sixty battles, and perhaps two million lives.—(Hook's Archbishops: Anselm.)

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entrusted with secular as well as spiritual power. The feudal system tended to concentrate attention upon that aspect of their power which was visible, easily understood, and came into contact with ordinary life. The Bishop had become a Baron: he received his estates from the King's hand: he did not dispute his duty of furnishing his contingent of men-at-arms to fight the King's battles. More than this, it had been customary for him to accept from the sovereign at his nomination the gift of the ring and crozier, the symbols of his official authority. There was in this no arrogation of spiritual power on the King's part. He transmitted to the ecclesiastical ruler the emblems of his office with the same intention as he transmitted to the lay ruler the tokens of his lordship. And as he expected the lay-vassal to do homage for his fief, so he expected the Bishop to do the same.

Anselm himself had accepted his abbot's staff at Bec from lay hands. He had accepted his ring and crozier as Archbishop from William and had felt no misgiving, and uttered no protest. It is true that the legate on giving him his pallium, had hinted to him that his investiture by the King had been irregular: and this remark had left a sting in Anselm's mind, which caused him to press for leave to consult the Pope. But now that he had heard from Urban's own lips the solemn curse pronounced on all who received lay-investiture or did homage to a lay lord, and had seen that curse ratified without a dissenting voice by the Council, he felt constrained in conscience to obey it, and no thought of his own inconsistency or of Henry's rights would for a moment stand in the way of his accepting as God's will the deliberate judgment of the highest human tribunal.

It was the mind of Hildebrand which had first pierced through the surface of this dispute, and revealed the essential principle that underlay it. He saw the danger of entrusting to a feudal lord the conveyance to an ecclesiastic of the emblems of spiritual authority. The ring and the staff were tokens of a rule which, however the needs of the time might turn it to secular channels, was in its essence not temporal but spiritual. If the King could bestow these; if in return he was to receive the prelate's oath of homage, and the promise to be his man for all needs of service, what difference would exist between the tenures of a secular and a spiritual office? It was useless to appeal to the precedents of former days. The times were changed: what had been unquestioned before was now liable to misinterpretation. If the Church was to remain free to wield her proper powers, this could only be, if her ministers were released from the shackles of a worldly tie. The one paramount object of the Head of the Church on earth must be to obtain for her voice a hearing unconfused by the din of human clamour and unterrified by the threats of earthly potentates. Such was the Pope's argument. Henry, on his part, was strong in the unvarying practice of his own kingdom. He had sworn not only to fulfil the duties of a King of England but to preserve his rights. And among these rights none had been more unchallenged than that of investing the bishops he appointed. His clear intellect was not distorted by passion: he courteously but firmly announced to Anselm that it was his duty not to yield. He proposed a truce till Easter of the following year (A.D. 1101) and meanwhile embassies were sent to Rome by both parties to obtain a hearing from Paschal.

Henry, unlike his predecessor, did not allow his dispute with the Archbishop to interfere with their friendly relations. In fact, Anselm was able to do the King some very important services. Henry had long desired to wed Matilda, daughter of Malcolm of Scotland and his wife Margaret, the saintly sister of the Ætheling Eadgar and grand-daughter of Eadmund Ironside. But the objection was raised that in her girlhood Matilda had been confided to the care of an Abbess in the North, who to protect her from William's licentiousness had placed the veil on her head. This was admitted. But it was alleged that she had never taken the vows, nor, had she wished it, would her father have consented to her doing so. A council was held at York, at which Anselm presided. The evidence was carefully weighed, and judgment given that there was no impediment to the marriage. Thus Henry was enabled to unite the Norman succession with that of the old line of Kings.

The other service which Anselm rendered was to defend the King's throne against an invasion by Duke Robert, under circumstances very similar to those in which Lanfranc years before had defended William Rufus. So energetic were Anselm's measures that Eadmer does not hesitate to say that but for his aid Henry would have lost his kingdom. It may have been partly a desire not to lose such powerful support that prompted Henry's temporising conduct at the outset of the dispute. At any rate, he did not count on Anselm's loyalty in vain. The relations between the two men offer a pleasing contrast to those of the former reign. If Henry never failed in reverential courtesy to Anselm, the latter was by no means insensible to his Sovereign's attentions, and except on

the one vital point, proved himself amenable to management.

The Envoys in due time returned bringing Paschal's letter, which produced no change in the situation. Henry stood by his ancestral rights, Anselm by the Pope's decree. Henry also relied on the support of the English Bishops, most of whom were his own or his brother's appointments. Henry did not sell preferments: his nominees were as a rule capable and virtuous men, but better versed in secular business than in pastoral duties. Roger of Salisbury and Robert Bloet of Lincoln have been already mentioned, both men of munificent disposition and sumptuous tastes. Giffard of Nevers, who was now set over London, had obtained great renown among his contemporaries for his attainments in what was then called Science.

The negotiations were once more resumed. It was arranged that a second embassy should be sent to Rome, the King being represented by Gerard of York, Herbert Losinga of Norwich, and Robert of Chester, all experienced diplomatists, while Anselm chose Baldwin, a monk of Bec, and Alexander, a monk of Canterbury, to represent his side. The Pope remained inflexible, sending letters both to Henry and Anselm to the same effect. The Archbishop now felt sure of his ground. He published the Pope's letter to himself, and challenged the King to give equal publicity to his own. But this Henry did not choose to do. He declared that the question was not whether the Pope's authority was valid in England, but whether the first subject in the realm was to be allowed to set the law at defiance. Moreover, the three Bishops affirmed that they had brought a verbal message from the Pope to the effect that since Henry was a dutiful son of the

Church, he would not be interfered with if he exercised his ancient prerogative. The two monks denied any such message: they appealed to the written documents. The answer they received is characteristic of the age, 'Foul shame were it to give credit to a mere strip of sheepskin, covered with writing, in comparison with the sworn declaration of three honourable Bishops.'

Anselm was much perplexed at the duplicity of the Pope: for there is no reason to doubt the fact of his giving the message, though he was too cautious to commit it to writing. Anselm's only resource was to send the monks back to the Pope to inquire what he really desired. In the meantime, he agreed to withdraw his censure from the prelates who had received the royal investiture, while declining to make any fresh consecrations.

Unsatisfactory as things were, it was imperative that the Church's long slumbering power of legislation should be resumed. No Synod had been held during the late reign: this was one of Anselm's chiefest causes of complaint. Henry now authorised the calling of a great council in London for passing disciplinary canons. Thirty of these were passed, the most important being one prohibiting all clergy from female intercourse under pain of loss of status; thus remedying the laxer restrictions of Lanfranc, and for the first time making clerical celibacy the law of the whole English Church. Various regulations were also made against simony and extortion and especially against the rapidly growing claims of the Archdeacons, who had now gained an unenviable notoriety among rapacious clerical officials. The conditions of marriage were laid down more strictly; consanguinity up to the seventh degree was to form an impediment: unnatural

crimes were denounced, and the sale of men and women for slavery was forbidden.

The King now required Anselm to consecrate three of his nominees, William of Winchester, Roger of Salisbury, and Reinelm of Hereford. William had refused the royal investiture, but the people were so anxious for his appointment that Henry had connived at his receiving the investiture from Anselm. The other two prelates had been invested by the King, who now insisted that all three should be consecrated together. As Anselm declined to perform the ceremony, Gerard of York was called upon to do so. He was nothing loth: but Reinelm's conscience smote him, and he refused to proceed with his appointment, greatly to the King's annoyance. Gerard began the office of consecration for the two others. Then William, smitten with compunction, drew back at the last moment, and amid a scene of confusion the service was brought to an end. William's goods were confiscated, and himself banished from the realm.

The King now visited Canterbury in the hope of either persuading or terrifying the Archbishop into compliance. At a court held at Easter 1103, the nobles represented to Anselm the advisability of his undertaking a personal mission to Rome, to which he agreed. His absence left the King free to act: he at once dispatched his trusted counsellor William of Warelwast, Bishop of Exeter, to the Papal court, with instructions to sound the most influential Churchmen and enlist their support. Paschal, however, was not to be moved. William, betrayed into imprudence by the apparent success of his good offices, declared that not for the loss of his kingdom would Henry give up his rights; to which the Pope retorted, 'Nor for the price of my life

will I allow him to keep them.' The assembly begged for a more conciliatory reply, and finally it was agreed that the King's other usages and customs should be recognised, save only that all lay investitures must cease. The bishops already invested were to be acknowledged, provided they did such penance as Anselm was empowered to fix. This was of course unsatisfactory to the King. Hardly had Anselm left Rome, when he was overtaken by William with the significant message, that if he would submit, the King would welcome him home. The meaning of this was obvious. Anselm had no choice but to remain abroad, and took up his abode at Lyons. The King took the Archiepiscopal revenues into his own hands, but with commendable moderation entrusted their administration to two Canterbury men.

The next two years were spent by Anselm abroad, in the vain hope that Paschal would shew himself more zealous in his cause. At the Lateran Council of A.D. 1105, he went so far as to excommunicate Robert of Meulan and other accomplices of Henry, but uttered no anathema against Henry himself. This made it clear to Anslem that he must fight his battle alone. He first wrote to Henry demanding the restitution of his revenues: and shortly after he left Lyons. While at Clugny, being requested to visit Adela Countess of Blois, Henry's sister, who was dangerously ill, he confessed to her that he intended to lay the King under excommunication. Such a sentence from one whom all regarded as a saint, Henry felt at all costs must be averted. He wrote to his sister that if Anselm would come to Normandy for a personal interview, he would be prepared to concede a substantial part of his claims. The meeting took place at l'Aigle. The King, always

a hard bargainer, offered to re-seise Anselm of his revenues, and reinstate him in his post, if he promised not to refuse communion to the Bishops invested by him, or their consecrators. Anselm's tender conscience shrank from this promise. Yet another embassy was sent to Rome, and Anselm was put off with the hope of returning by Christmas of that year (A.D. 1105).

Meanwhile the condition of the Church in England was deplorable. Several urgent requests were sent to Anselm, by Bishops and clergy, to set aside his scruples, and resume his neglected duties as chief shepherd of the Church. His correspondents did not hesitate to throw upon him the chief blame for the miseries under which all good Christians groaned. Even Gerard abated his pride, and begged him to come back and lead them, protesting their readiness to give him ungrudging support, but confessing themselves wholly unable to approve his impracticable attitude. These letters reveal the immense power wielded by the Primatial See. Not only did the occupant of it entirely overshadow his fellow-primate of York, but the utter helplessness of the whole Church during his absence proves that he was the sole acting head, alone able to move things. It is equally clear from the action of Rufus and Henry that both these princes were alarmed at the increasing powers of the Archbishop, and at his claim to a sort of *condominiun*. This was the result of the Conqueror's separation of the two jurisdictions, and justified Gregory's far-seeing calculations for crippling the Royal power. The bulk of the clergy and people undoubtedly sympathised with the King. Anselm never threw himself into the English point of view : he remained a foreigner to the last. Yet the general reverence for his character, and the evident

powerlessness of the King to coerce him, combined to surround his position with a prestige all the greater because it was felt that without him nothing could be done.

The King had been raising money for his expedition to Normandy, and among other oppressive measures, had extorted heavy fines from those clergy who had retained their wives in spite of the Canon. Not content with this, he had laid all the clergy under a tax so severe that many were left homeless and penniless. Anselm was greatly distressed by these harsh acts, and a long and wearisome correspondence ensued between them, in which it must be confessed neither appears to very great advantage. At length, the King's envoy, William of Warelwast, returned to England with the results of his Roman mission. Henry sent at once for Anselm, but he was too ill to cross the sea. He partially recovered, and reached Bec, where he was again prostrated and thought to be dying. The King went to visit him, and made offers of restitution which Anselm was willing to accept. He returned to England, and shortly after his return the subjugation of Normandy was completed (A.D. 1106). The treaty of Tinchebrai was regarded by the nation as the divine recompense for Henry's reconciliation with his Archbishop.

Next year A.D. 1107 a Council was held in London, which sat for three days, to receive the final settlement of the great dispute. Paschal had wisely modified his predecessor's demands. It was decreed by him that while lay investiture was inadmissible, the act of homage on the part of Bishops should be allowed. Henry agreed to waive his royal right of investiture with ring and staff, and Anselm agreed thut no prelate should be

refused communion on account of homage done to the King for his appointment. Like many other arrangements of important differences, this was a compromise. But the chief advantage lay with the Pope, for the English sovereign was obliged to surrender what had for nearly two centuries been universally admitted to be his right, whereas the Pope had gained a new and most important step forwards in the aggrandisement of Papal power.

Anselm's last years were by no means free from anxieties. Gerard of York, from whom he claimed profession of submission, refused to give it on the ground that he had already done so as Bishop of Hereford, and with his assurance that this should still be continued, Anselm was fain to be content.

Another difficulty arose about the admission of Hugh of Bec, who had been elected Abbot of St Augustine's, to his office. Anselm, lying ill at Lambeth, had asked William of Exeter to perform the rite of benediction in Canterbury Cathedral. To this the monks objected, alleging that the ceremony ought to be performed in their own chapel, and they appealed to the King. After some negotiations, it was settled that Anselm should admit the Abbot to his office at Lambeth and this arrangement was accepted.

Another Synod was held in London the following year, at which the rules for clerical celibacy were again put forth even more stringently than before. An order was also made for subdividing the unwieldy see of Lincoln by the creation of a new Bishoprick at Ely. This order was in accordance with old national custom, dating from the time of Theodore. But it ran counter to Norman prejudices, which regarded a Bishoprick as a possession or property, not to be dismembered

without inflicting injustice on its holder. Hence Bloet protested against the step. The Pope's sanction was sought for it, another new departure in English Church-life. The foundation of the See of Carlisle has already been mentioned. By the creation of these two bishopricks Henry set an excellent precedent, which was not taken up again till the reign of Henry VIII, and has only been properly recognised within our own times. He persisted, however, in ignoring the merits of native Churchmen. Eadmer tells us that hardly a single Englishman was appointed to any high Church-office in his time.

The King again started for Normandy, leaving Anselm with full powers to act as he thought fit in ecclesiastical matters. He proceeded to consecrate Richard to the See of London, and Radulf or Ralph as successor to Gundulf at Rochester.

A monk of Durham, named Turgod, had been appointed by Alexander of Scotland to the See of St Andrews. Gerard of York had by this time died, and a new archbishop, Thomas, had been elected to succeed him. It was proposed that Turgod's consecration should be performed at York, in Thomas' presence, by three Northern prelates. But Anselm would not agree to this, and requested Thomas to come at once to him for his benediction to the Archbishoprick. The Canons of York, expecting Anselm's death, and anticipating another interregnum in the Canterbury See, persuaded Thomas to invent causes of delay. They hoped that in this manner the galling profession of submission to the Southern Primate might be evaded. Anselm's health was rapidly failing: but he roused himself sufficiently to write an explicit letter to Thomas refusing any concession, and to send round a sealed

document to every Bishop in his province, requiring them in case of his death to uphold the just claims of the Kentish See.

This was the saintly prelate's last act. Shortly afterwards his infirmity increased, and it became evident to all that his end was near. The faithful Eadmer was with him to the last, and watched the holiest and most eminent of all our Prelates pass peacefully away. One of his latest utterances is strongly indicative of his inner thought and life. 'I am ready,' he said, 'to depart, if God so wills it. Yet I could wish Him to grant me a little further space of life, for I have somewhat to say on a deep question of divine Providence, concerning the origin of the soul, which I know not if any other can say equally well.'

We have depicted Anselm as a monk and as a statesman. But there is another aspect of the man which has given him a glory higher than that of statesman or monk. In the midst of strife and debate, his heart was ever in the contemplation of divine mysteries. His highest ambition was not to wear the mitre, but to justify the ways of God to men. He was at once the profoundest thinker and the greatest theologian of his age. In him the great succession of the Latin fathers, Tertullian, Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, Hilary, Leo and Gregory, finds its culmination and its close. He is the last of the old doctors and the first of the new. With him opens the line of famous schoolmen, with whom the Christian doctrine no longer needed to be defensively presented, but being accepted as self-evident, was brought by the Scholastic method into harmony with the demands of the rational faculty. It was Anselm who first grasped the noble thought that what faith accepts reason necessarily justifies. There

is no more the old opposition between reason and faith: they work together in perfect harmony for God's glory and man's salvation as one whole and indivisible body of truth. If Anselm's postulates are no longer convincing, if his doctrine of the Atonement, by which he is best known, fails to satisfy the maturer conscience of modern Christendom, none the less ought we to honour him for consecrating so entirely his wonderful intellectual gifts to the highest of all services, and for helping mankind to rise to purer and clearer conceptions of those divine attributes which we cannot but strive to fathom though we know them to be beyond our reach. The singleness of his purpose, and the firmness of his convictions, however we may disapprove of the cause to which he gave them, can never be seriously questioned. The voice of his contemporaries forestalled the tardier recognition of posterity. He was not formally canonised till the middle of the 15th century: but by English hearts he was from the beginning instinctively recognised as one of God's Saints.

CHAPTER VIII

HENRY I—*continued*

A MEMORABLE feature in this reign is the introduction into England of the Cistercian Order of Monks, which not only profoundly affected the religious life of the nation, but has bequeathed so many ruins of exquisite beauty to the modern lover of the picturesque. William of Malmesbury, with pardonable pride, reminds us that the founder of the Order was an Englishman. His name was Harding. He had been a monk at Sherborne, but longing for wider experience, had left his monastery, and visited as a pilgrim many parts of Europe. At length, impressed with the desire for a strict religious life, he settled at the monastery of Molesmes in Burgundy. The discipline there was not severe enough to satisfy him, and he prevailed upon the Abbot to strengthen it. The brethren, however, disapproved of the change, and the Abbot, accompanied by Harding, who had changed his name to Stephen, left with eighteen others and transferred his abode to Citeaux. After some time, Stephen was elected Prior, and eventually Abbot: and it was to his rule that the house was indebted for the high reputation for sanctity which it soon achieved. Among other postulants for admission came the man who raised the fame of the Cistercian order to its highest pitch of glory, Bernard, afterwards Abbot of Clairvaux, the last and one of the noblest of the Fathers of the Church.

Before the end of Henry's reign Stephen's rule had made its way into England. Some of its settlements were in the South; of these Tintern is the most familiar. But its true home was in the North, where since the Danish ravages the old monasticism had almost died out. It is sufficient to mention the abbeys of Rievaulx and Fountain's in Yorkshire, as embodying in the highest degree the peculiar aspirations of the Cistercian brotherhood, remoteness from cities, beautiful natural surroundings, and severity of architectural design. The three Abbeys just mentioned have entwined themselves, as scarce any others have done, with the most imperishable associations of English mediæval life.

After Anselm's death the temptation to keep the Primacy unfilled was too strong for Henry's political or financial virtue. Another interregnum of five years followed. The Canons of York had hoped for this, calculating that they would be able to retrieve the indignity, as they considered it, which had been put upon their Diocesan. But they found themselves in error. The King summoned a Council at London, and caused the letter of Anselm relating to the dispute to be read before it. The provincial Episcopate stood firm and declared themselves ready to resign their sees rather than disregard Anselm's authority. The King was convinced by their arguments, and gave judgment that the required profession must be made. At first Thomas hesitated, but fearing to lose his see, he consented to subscribe a written declaration which the King ordered to be deposited among the State Archives, to the following effect, 'I, Thomas, of the Church of York, about to be consecrated metropolitan, profess subjection and canonical obedience to the

Primate of the Church of Canterbury canonically elected and consecrated, and to his Successors canonically enthroned, saving my obedience to my Lord the King and to the Holy See.' Thomas was now consecrated by the Bishop of London, assisted by other Bishops. In the following year Henry was crowned for the second time, by the Bishop of London. Thomas considered this an affront: and the rivalry between the two prelates became so fierce that the King drove them both from his banquet-hall, until the order of their precedence should be determined by a new Archbishop of Canterbury. Afterwards it was decided that the Primate should take his seat at the King's right hand, his colleague of York at the King's left hand, and the Bishop of London at the right hand of the Primate.

At last the time came when the appointment to Canterbury could no longer be delayed. The King had his eye on Faricius, Abbot of Abingdon, but the Bishops and nobles desired a man more versed in affairs, and the King was willing to satisfy them. During the vacancy of Canterbury, the duties of the See had been performed by Ralph Escures, Bishop of Rochester, sometime Abbot of Peterborough, and formerly a monk of Séez, and his administration had been very successful. The Archbishoprick was offered to him, and he accepted it amid general satisfaction. One of his first acts was, in accordance with ancient prerogative, to invest and consecrate Ernulf to his own See of Rochester. The Pope expressed annoyance that he had not been consulted on so important an appointment. It had become the rule for the Archbishop to procure his pallium from Rome. In this instance, however, a dispensation was given, and Anselm, a nephew of his great namesake, was permitted in the

capacity of Legate to carry it to England. These legatine visits were part of the Papal policy for weakening the royal power in this country. So far back as 1101 Guido, Archbishop of Vienna, was granted a roving commission with orders to include England in his authority, but neither the King nor Anselm would receive him. The second Anselm was now invested with a fresh legatine commission. He was courteously received and entertained, but not suffered to transact any public business. At the same time another legate was sent into Normandy with authority to excommunicate some of Henry's Bishops without his consent. Henry greatly resented this step, and ordered his old friend and adviser William of Warelwast, now become blind, to convey his protest to Rome.

The intrigues of Paschal and his next-but-one successor Calixtus II against the rights of Canterbury occupy a large space in the chronicles of the time. It is a wearisome subject, but cannot quite be passed over. Thomas of York had died just before Ralph's appointment, and Thurstan, the King's secretary, was elected to succeed him. Thurstan adopted his predecessor's attitude, and applied to Paschal to support him, which he was willing enough to do. Henry, angered at the Pope's interference, offered Thurstan the alternatives of submission or immediate resignation. Thurstan resigned, but soon repented of his resignation, and followed Henry into Normandy, reiterating his petitions to be excused from the oath. Ralph now found it desirable to assert his claims in person. He started for Rome, but was detained in France by illness, and when he reached Italy found that the Pope could not see him. Paschal seems to have played off

the two claimants against one another: for while he wrote an encouraging letter to Ralph, he confirmed Thurstan in his See. Shortly after this, he died, and was succeeded by Gelasius, and within little more than a year by Calixtus II.

The conduct of this Pontiff was even more disingenuous than that of Paschal. Thurstan's object was to get the Pope to consecrate him. But Henry refused him permission to obtain an interview, and declared that if he were consecrated by the Pope, nothing should induce him to allow of his return to England. Ralph, to secure his case by unimpeachable evidence, sent to Canterbury for the deeds of privilege conferred by former Popes, and kept in custody by the See.

In A.D. 1119, the Pope held a General Council at Rheims. Thurstan's importunity so far prevailed with the King that he obtained leave to attend, but only under the express promise that he would not seek consecration at the Pope's hands, the Pope on his part having undertaken to do nothing derogatory to the rights of Canterbury.

In spite of the clear evidence produced, the Pope insisted on Ralph's recognising Thurstan, and offered to absolve the King from his promise to exclude him from the kingdom. Henry, however, refused to avail himself of this offer. His words in speaking of it, are instructive: 'The Pope says that being apostolic, he is able to absolve me from my promise; but for me to consent to such absolution does not seem consistent with kingly honour. For who would any longer trust any man's word, if he saw that mine could be so easily annulled by absolution?'

But though Henry's sentiments were thus magnanimous, he found it wise to reconsider his

position and to agree to Thurstan's recall. The Archbishop was a skilled diplomatist, and had been instrumental in arranging terms of peace between Henry and the French King. But the unseemly strife was continued on English soil, and lasted until after Ralph's death. A curious episode in the same quarrel is connected with the name of Eadmer, the monk of Canterbury, the friend, companion and biographer of Anselm, and afterwards of Ralph. Turgod, Bishop of St Andrews, had retired from his Bishoprick to spend the rest of his days at Durham, and the vacancy thus created had to be worthily filled. The Scottish King and Clergy were jealous of the claims of York to jurisdiction in Scotland. It was true that in the original scheme of Gregory this had been contemplated, but it had never become effective, nor indeed had the Scottish Bishops admitted it. The Church of Scotland had no Metropolitan See, though St Andrews held a sort of informal Primacy. They now turned to Canterbury and asked for a Bishop, without, however, intending to acknowledge thereby anything more than a primacy of dignity and honour. Eadmer was chosen, and accepted the nomination, stipulating that he might still retain his allegiance to Canterbury, to which his whole life had been devoted. King Alexander refused his consent to this and Eadmer returned without being consecrated. Eadmer's qualifications as a faithful chronicler of events of which he was an eyewitness stand very high. The limitations of his mind reveal themselves in a fondness for petty details and miraculous anecdotes. But as a picture of the times his history is invaluable, and he supplies us with a large number of authentic original documents.

During these years the Roman policy of legatine

missions to England was steadily pursued, and as steadily counteracted by the King. The great fault of the English Church in Roman eyes was its independence. It held firmly by its ancient privileges; and one of these, as Calixtus was obliged to admit, was that no legate need be received by the Church without the royal permission. Yet the Pope determined to override this privilege by commissioning Peter of Cluny, well known as a diplomatist, to pay a visit to England and settle Church affairs. Henry was in Wales: but on hearing of it, he issued strict orders that Peter might, if desired, be sumptuously entertained, but should not be allowed to attend any ecclesiastical assembly. The following year is memorable for the loss of the White Ship, by which Henry's hopes for the succession were dashed to the ground. He had now no legitimate male heir. His consort had died some years previously, and he determined to marry again. The lady of his choice was Adela, daughter of Godfrey of Louvain. The Archbishop, now very infirm, assisted at the marriage, but this was his last public act. He died in A.D. 1122, and was buried at Canterbury. He had filled his position with honour and dignity, and his character is thus summed up by William of Malmesbury: 'Inferior to none in piety, he was eminent for his literary attainments, and for his surpassing affability. In the multitude of his good fortunes, he would have sought for nothing more than to have conferred still greater benefits upon his friends.'

His successor was William of Corbeil, Prior of St Osyth in Essex, who had been a canon regular of Canterbury, though not a professed monk. It had been the boast of the Chapter that every occupant of the Cathedral throne had belonged to the Monastic Order; and they

did not receive William very cordially. His character also is not so well spoken of as that of his predecessor. He appears, however, in the pages of Henry of Huntingdon, as a capable and active prelate, well versed in the varied duties of his office. The prestige of his primacy suffers an unfortunate cloud from the disgrace inflicted upon it by the Papal Legate, Cardinal John of Crema, who took the Archbishop's place in his own Cathedral at the celebration of High Mass on Easter Day, the greatest Festival of the Christian Year. This was a spectacle never before seen in England, and excited the liveliest indignation. The insult was all the more unbearable because the man who perpetrated it was detected in the very vices which from his chair in the great Synod he had denounced with the utmost severity. William determined to complain to the Pope of this indignity, and set out for Rome. Honorius admitted the irregularity and by way of compensation and guarantee for the future, appointed the Archbishop of Canterbury his Vicar-General in England and Scotland, and standing legate of the Holy See.

Such a proceeding is very like righting one wrong by another. It illustrates the ever encroaching policy of the Papacy. The same authority which in the person of Gregory had expressly left the Christianity of England free to develop its own life in conformity with the faith and discipline of the Universal Church, had now succeeded in planting in the very centre of that freedom the emblem of a servitude which, though cloaked under honourable titles, riveted fetters upon our Church that for four centuries of struggling resistance she vainly strove to cast off. It was but a step further, when Stephen sought from the Pope the title to his crown, and yet but another step when

England saw her Sovereign bow his head before the Pope's envoy and receive his kingdom as a fief from Papal hands.

Meanwhile the years passed, and Henry's marriage brought him no promise of an heir. It became necessary therefore that he should provide for the succession. He determined to obtain the national recognition of his daughter Matilda as heiress to the Throne. This was a new departure, for the very idea of Feudal Monarchy was inconsistent with a female sovereign. Nevertheless the King's strong will prevailed. Matilda had been married to the Emperor Henry, but was now a widow and childless. The Witan was called, and the Empress's title was placed before it. All present signified their assent, and agreed to swear fealty to her as Lady of England provided the King should fail of male issue. She was given in marriage the following year (A.D. 1127) to Fulk, Count of Anjou, by whom she became the mother of Henry II.

In A.D. 1127 Archbishop William held a synod at Westminster, at which the canons of the last synod were almost re-enacted. One of the provisions relating to clerical marriage deserves our notice, as an indication of the way in which inconvenient social arrangements were dealt with by ecclesiastical judges. It was decreed that all concubines of clergy (for their partners were allowed no other title) should be summarily expelled from the parishes where they lived; that if any of them reappeared, they should be liable to arrest, and without shelter of any jurisdiction should be surrendered to ecclesiastical discipline, or sold into bondage according to the Bishop's sentence. Those who have imagination enough to picture the position of these hapless women, or learning enough to appreciate the moral standard

of the average clergy of the time, will realise the idea of justice which approved itself to the ruling minds of the Church.

Thurstan of York, when not disputing about his precedence, was a vigorous administrator of his province. He raised the position of York to something of its ancient splendour. But we hear of two further incidents in his life, which shew that his former disappointments had not abated his pride. The King was holding a great Gemot in London, at which all the nobles were present. On such occasions he wore his crown and it was usual for the Archbishop to place it on his head. Thurstan stepped forward to perform this office, but met with a severe rebuff from the assembled courtiers and bishops. He was further forbidden to have the cross carried before him, while officiating in the Southern Province—a privilege which without any warrant he had insisted on claiming. Soon afterwards he was requested by the Scottish King to consecrate one Robert to the See of St Andrews. While complying with this request he took advantage of it to press his claim as Metropolitan of Scotland, but was obliged after all to waive any profession of obedience.

Henry's long reign was now drawing to a close. A statesman and an administrator, he had been above all a King, one who knew his purpose and never failed to enforce it. No doubt his justice was severe. It consisted far more in punishing the guilty or those supposed to be guilty than in defending the innocent. To the men of that age it seemed better that a few innocent men should suffer than that a single guilty man should escape. The old trial by ordeal of fire or water still survived, but it was giving place, among the nobles, to the ordeal of battle, which to knightly dis-

putants seemed to correspond naturally with the arbitrament of God.

We hear less as the reign nears its end of mutilations and other cruel punishments. Henry seems to have preferred, wherever he could, to exact a money fine. On the whole the nation was contented with his rule, and the chroniclers give it very high praise.

It is said that all through the two years preceding his last voyage to Normandy portents and presages of heavy import were observed in many quarters. It was remembered that long ago when Henry wedded his first bride, the holy Anselm, though consenting to the marriage, had predicted calamity as the sure result of union with one who if only for a brief period had been given to God. Men hoped that the King would not tempt his fortune by leaving the shores of England. He, however, disregarded all their misgivings. He embarked for Normandy and never returned. He died in A.D. 1135 at his Chateau in the Forest of Lions, it is said, from partaking too freely of a dish of lampreys; and was brought to Reading, and laid to rest in the great Abbey he himself had reared.

CHAPTER IX

SOME RESULTS OF THE CONQUEST

A FEW concluding remarks may be made on the results of the Norman conquest so far as they affected the Church. And it is well to remember with our great historian of this period that the victory of Senlac was rather a decisive turning-point in England's life than an entire reconstruction of it. Nearly all the influences which William rendered dominant had begun to work before him. Norman manners, Norman French, Norman architecture and Norman churchmanship, were all imported in Eadward's time. It is true that the nation disliked them; but they had become familiar, they were tolerated, and in some directions were felt to involve a real advance. It is probable that if Eadward could have foreseen the course of events he would have approved of it. One institution was, indeed, entirely new, the feudal tenure of land from the King. This, as we have seen, was introduced by William, yet so carefully guarded with restrictions as to neutralise some of its most dangerous tendencies. No doubt the same tendencies which on the Continent issued in Feudalism had been far from inoperative in England. But in England, unlike other countries, the monarchy had been found strong enough to hold them at bay. There, however, its power ceased. The disintegrating elements had not been stamped out:

and when the form of continental feudalism was imposed upon them, they reasserted themselves immediately and without effort. In the wake of feudalism followed the moral and social ideals of chivalry, that strange amalgam of gentleness and ferocity, of saintly purity and licentious passion, of honour more sacred than life, and of craft that knew no scruple. In its final and more refined shape, it was due to the influence of the Crusades, and in these the earlier English Kings and barons took but little part. But from the first there had existed among the Norman Knights a code of military honour in some respects akin to the chivalrous, of which William Rufus is cited as a notable example. Many of his knightly acts are recorded with praise, such as his release of a powerful captive who scorned his pardon and openly threatened him with vengeance, and his acceptance without any guaranty of the parole given by hostile captains, who had trusted to his honour. Nevertheless these acts were compatible in his eyes with the most flagrant breaches of promise to those outside the circle of his followers, and with the merciless harrying of the defenceless nation whom he had sworn to defend. At its highest, we cannot call his chivalry anything better than a class-virtue. In his father and his brother Henry it is difficult to detect a trace even of this. Neither of them would have risked a tangible advantage for the sake of courtesy to an opponent or purposeless exposure of their own lives. That consideration for another's feelings, that waiving of mere personal triumph, and that calm control of temper, which are part of the chivalry of a later time, and which enter so largely into our conception of a gentleman, are conspicuous by their absence in our Norman Kings, and

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it must be confessed also, in an almost equal degree, are wanting in their lords spiritual and temporal.

The Norman prelate, first introduced by Eadward, held a different position towards his diocese from that held by the bishops appointed by the English Kings. He can have had no intimate relations with his clergy, and still less with the humbler laity of his diocese. Even to an Anselm the miseries of his flock conveyed no summons, as from God, to come over and succour them. His mind was occupied with lofty issues, far more vital in his eyes than the shepherding of simple souls. What must have been the case with Bishops who owed their appointments to dexterity in financial business or to triumphs of diplomatic skill? Everything tended to make the gap between prelate and people wider and wider. Even to his clergy the Bishop appeared far less as a Father in God than as an exactor and judge, strict in his visitatorial rights and unapproachable to his vassals.

Moreover, the growing conception of Church preferment as a form of property had a most injurious effect upon the well-being of the parish system. In ancient times tithes had been paid over to the Bishop to be divided for the benefit of the Church and the poor. But by this time the parish tithes had in several counties at any rate been settled on parochial benefices. Not unfrequently these tithes had been resumed by the Bishop, but not for their original purpose. They were in many cases appropriated by him to Diocesan Chapters, to native, and sometimes to foreign monasteries.

Another disadvantageous result of the Feudal system was the development of the rights of patrons. The right of patronage to a benefice had formerly arisen from the necessity of choosing in troubled times a

protector for the Church, who in return for his protection, would claim a share of the tithes and the nomination to the cure of souls. In other cases, again, the lord of the manor, in founding or endowing a benefice, had reserved for himself and his heirs the right of filling it. In both cases the tendency of the times led to patronage being regarded as a form of property of which the patron could lawfully dispose. This was the origin of those frequent endowments of Abbeys or monasteries with parish tithes which led to the alienation of the Rectory from the parish Church, and the performance of its duties by a slenderly paid deputy. The further development of the system, by which laymen or lay corporations have become holders of parochial tithes, though undoubtedly an abuse, came as a natural sequel to the process above mentioned.

But the most important change introduced into the Church of England at the conquest was the separation of the ecclesiastical and civil courts, which involved the existence side by side of two rival systems of law, and the effects of which are felt to this day in the long succession of law-suits that have so greatly disturbed the peace of our Church. The result of this change was to undermine and finally destroy the Church's independence, and to bring it into that subjection to the Roman See from which it was only rescued by the convulsion of the sixteenth century. At the same time, the inclusion of English Churchmanship within the great organisation of Western Christendom brought its compensating advantages. It encouraged the higher learning, allied itself with the rapid growth of our Universities, and through the channels of diplomacy and scholastic controversy brought England into close touch with the dominant currents of action and thought.

All this may justly be laid to the credit of William's conquest.

But if the intellectual field was enlarged on one side it was impoverished on another. The new movement of thought involved the decline of that native literature so full of originality and promise, which had sprung up under the guiding hand of Alfred. The ballad-songs still survived among the people and kept alive the memories of their old heroes, but they ceased to be preserved for posterity, and were in danger of passing unrecorded away. Had it not been for the admiration they awoke in Henry of Huntingdon, who has enshrined some of them in his chronicle, we should have been in a worse position than we are for judging of their vivid inspiration. Books were now no longer written for an English-speaking public. The early prose literature which in the ninth and tenth centuries had sought so many avenues to men's interest, gradually died out. Books there were in plenty, but, as a rule, the composition of monkish chroniclers, and invariably written in Latin. The movement that had begun so hopefully came to an untimely end, and the second dawn of English letters was deferred for more than three hundred years.

The same, or, rather, a still more irreparable loss befell our language. The English tongue, as spoken by Alfred, contained in itself all the elements of an unrivalled vehicle of expression. Even now the terse and picturesque turns of phrase in the chronicle compel our admiration. Their simple and first-hand imagery, dramatic concisenesss, and effectiveness of syntactical arrangement, indicate the capacity for a purely native development equal to that of German in richness of combination and superior to it in brevity and force.

Modern English, by its bi-lingual vocabulary and preponderance of the Latin element, has sacrificed both strength and grace of utterance in a measure hard to exaggerate, and this must ever be a cause of regret to those who have had access to the pure wells of native English speech.

If in the various directions to which we have referred the influence of the conquering Normans was at least partially injurious, there remains one feature in the Church's life with regard to which we owe them nothing but gratitude, namely, their Church Architecture. In Normandy they had been great builders, and in England they were to became greater still. It is scarcely too much to assert that the plan and idea of our Norman Cathedrals equals in grandeur any form of architecture in the world. If not original in the sense of inventing an entirely new conception, it is beyond question original in giving a new embodiment to a high spiritual ideal.

In this department as in so many others the reign of Eadward heralds the change. Before his time the English churches had followed the style common to the greater part of Europe, which is known as Primitive Romanesque. The origin of this style must be sought in Italy, where, after Greek influences had died out, the essentially Roman feature of the Arch was incorporated with the rectangular plan of the Basilica or oblong Roman law-court. The English modifications of this form approached, as was natural, more nearly to the German models than to those of Italy. Stone architecture, except in a few isolated instances, was unknown among the Saxons in England until Augustine built his church at Canterbury out of the remains of a Roman Basilica, which survived until the conflagration

after William's landing. At Dover Eadbald built a small stone church which still exists. At York Eadwine erected a stone minster, while at Ripon Wilfrith's church of polished stone was the wonder of his contemporaries, and some portions of the crypt are visible to this day. Somewhat later, Ealdhelm built the little church at Bradford-on-Avon, which still remains. As might be expected, very few of these early buildings are left to us ; but, what is more surprising, the statelier erections of the succeeding age have almost entirely perished.

It would appear that the ground-plan of all these churches was that of the basilica with circular apse, rarely with the addition of projecting transepts or of a central tower. The massive unadorned pier of the German churches was general, though not unfrequently columns with carved capitals were employed. This form of pier was afterwards adopted from the native style by the Norman architects.

The most characteristic feature of these English churches was the solid, unbuttressed Western Tower, with its double round-headed windows, the lights of which were separated by balusters or a stone course level with the tower-wall. Several examples of these towers still remain.

The impression gained from comparing these relics of English church architecture with the style that supplanted it, is decidedly against the theory that the latter is in any sense a development of the former. The Norman style was a new thing, the expression in stone of the spirit of the race and the age.

Its two most prominent characters are found in the ground-plan of the building (which has never since been departed from) in the shape of a Latin Cross,

and in the central lantern or tower. The historian Freeman is of opinion that the lantern is a Norman modification of the circular dome or cupola of Byzantine art. Be this as it may, it assumed a very special character in Norman hands. The Eastern limb was almost always short, and contained little but the circular Apse. The transepts, which represent the arms of the Cross, extend north and south from the great central space. The West front formed the main entrance. The door was of varying height, round-arched, and deeply moulded. It was flanked by two moderate-sized towers, of which those of Exeter are a very beautiful example, the work of William of Warelwast. The Nave was usually of great length, and the Choir overflowed into it, being often separated from the rest of the Nave by a stone screen. All Norman Cathedrals exhibit the triple construction of pier-arch, triforium or blind-storey, and clerestory, in gradually diminishing altitude. The earlier examples lay great emphasis on the triforium, with its rich effects of deep shadow, as may be seen to perfection at Peterborough. The piers are rounded masses of wall, sometimes solid, sometimes filled with rubbish, but approximating in later Norman to true columns, always with square abacus over the capital. Stone-vaulting was attempted only in the aisles, which did not reach above the height of the triforium. The roof of the Nave and Transepts was flat, made of wood, richly decorated with carving and colour-work, and colour was often employed with splendid effect on the flat spaces of the wall.

The original impulse of the Norman style must be sought in Lombardy, though to all intents it is a truly native product. Its character is regularity and severity.

It impresses the sterner aspect of religion, embodying not so much an aspiration heavenward, as a majestic lesson of divine law. The use of ornamental carving was not essential to the effect intended to be conveyed, but it finds a place in many of the earlier, as well as in all the later examples. As a rule, the vaster structures depended less on ornament and more on regularity and depth of shadow, while the smaller churches were lavishly carved and coloured. The Norman style reached its highest expression in England, and we agree with those critics who consider Durham Cathedral to be, on the whole, the grandest monument of Norman architectural genius.

The enthusiasm for building at this time was quite extraordinary. Not only the Bishops, but a great majority of the manorial lords, made it their chief business to rebuild their churches. In many counties to this day the larger number of the parish churches contain traces of Norman work. It is clear, however, that in small and sequestered villages the architects were content to continue the existing type of structure, and in some cases, features of it were reproduced even in the more ambitious designs. For example, it has been remarked that the Western Towers of Lincoln are modelled on the English plan, and we have already noticed the preservation in our Norman Cathedrals of the massive Saxon pier. English Norman therefore presents characters which differentiate it from that of Normandy, and entitle it to a distinct study. It should be observed that our buildings reveal two well-defined periods, the earlier, in which strength and severity are the most prominent features, and the later, in which a much lighter and more elegant treatment appears. Of this second style an almost perfect example is supplied

by the Galilee of Durham. In this devolopment, we find the builders reverting to the classical idea of the true pillar, the capitals are richly ornamented and the moulding becomes more varied.

In any reference to the architecture of that period we are of necessity almost confined to examples of ecclesiastical building. But this is only because the other departments of it have practically disappeared. There is no reason to think that the churches differed in any essential principles from the secular buildings. The Tower of London, for instance, exemplifies the same structural features as are found in the Cathedrals. The great castles which were erected all over the country were really more characteristic than the Cathedrals of the relations of the conquerors to the conquered. But they were built as fortresses or strongholds, and gave but little scope for invention or variety of treatment. The lack of large towns or municipalities in England prevented any such independent growth of secular architecture as we meet with in the Netherlands and Germany. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that in ecclesiastical buildings more than in any others, the leading ideas and constructive principles of this style are completely manifested. If the higher art of a people is the fitting vehicle for the expression of its character and life, we may well rejoice that the Normans had a free field for displaying it, and were not turned aside, like the Romans of old, from giving the reins to their genius, by the intrusion at a critical period of their history, of a more finished art than their own.

NOTE ON CHAPTER IX

We append to the foregoing chapter a chronological list of some of the most celebrated Norman Cathedrals and Churches erected during the period treated of in this volume.

A.D. 1066-1077. Caen, St Stephen's or the Abbaye aux Hommes. Dedicated in A.D. 1077. Upper part of west front added about A.D. 1200. Founded by William the Conqueror.

A.D. 1066. Caen, Church of the Holy Trinity, or Abbaye aux Dames. Founded by Queen Matilda, much more ornamented and in a lighter style.

A.D. 1073-1080. Crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, built by Lanfranc (supposed to be his work).

A.D. 1077-1115. St Alban's Abbey, built by Paul of Caen who died A.D. 1093, and dedicated A.D. 1115.

A.D. 1077-1107. Rochester Cathedral, rebuilt by Bishop Gundulf: part of the nave remains.

A.D. 1079-1093. Winchester Cathedral. Crypt and Transepts built by Bishop Walkelin.

A.D. 1079-1115. Hereford Cathedral, arches of nave.

A.D. 1086-1106. Ely Cathedral, commenced by Abbot Simeon, brother of Walkelin of Winchester. Nave and Transepts.

A.D. 1081. Chapel of the White Tower, London, built by Gundulf of Rochester.

A.D. 1085-1106. Lincoln Cathedral, built by Remigius. Three Norman arches in the west front remain.

A.D. 1089-1100. Gloucester Cathedral, crypt, arches of nave and part of transepts, built by Abbot Serlo.

A.D. 1089. Worcester Cathedral, crypt by Bishop Wulfstan.

A.D. 1093-1104. Durham Cathedral, choir and transept built by William of St Carilef and continued A.D. 1104-1128 by Ralph Flambard.

A.D. 1107-1119. Norwich Cathedral, choir, aisles, transepts and tower, built by Herbert de Losinga.

A.D. 1102-1121. Tewkesbury Abbey, west end and arches of nave built by Robert Fitz-Hamon.

A.D. 1112. Exeter Cathedral enlarged by Bishop Warelwast. The two towers are his work.

A.D. 1114-1123. Caistor Church, near Peterborough. A stone exists in the church, bearing the latter date.

A.D. 1117-1143. Peterborough Cathedral. Choir. Foundation laid by John de Seez, and plan formed of the whole.

A.D. 1131. Canterbury rebuilt after the conflagration and dedicated by Archbishop Corbeil.

A.D. 1133. St Bartholomew's Church, Smithfield.

PUBL

TABLE OF SUCCESSION OF ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY, BISHOPS AND ARCHBISHOPS OF YORK, AND CONTEMPORARY POPES.

DATE	ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY	BISHOPS OF YORK	POPES	DATE
...	....	...	Gregory the Great	590
597	Augustine	...	Sabinianus	604
604	Laurentius	...	Boniface III	606
...	...	...	Boniface IV	607
...	...	...	Deusdedit	614
...	...	...	Boniface V	617
619	Mellitus	...	...	...
624	Justus	...	...	...
625	...	Paulinus (resigned 633)	Honorius I	626
627	Honorius	...	...	...
...	...	...	Severinus	639
...	...	...	John IV	639
...	...	...	Theodore	641
...	...	...	Martin I	649
655	Deusdedit	...	Eugenius	655
...	...	...	Vitalian	655
664	...	Wilfrith I (expelled 678)	...	...
666	...	Ceadda (deposed 669)	...	...
668	Theodore	...	...	...
...	...	...	Adeodatus	669
...	...	...	Domnus	676
678	...	Bosa	Agathon	678
...	...	...	Leo II	683
...	...	...	Benedict II	684
...	...	...	John V	685
...	...	...	Conon	686
...	...	...	Sergius	687
693	Berhtwald	...	...	...
...	...	...	John VI	701
...	...	John of Beverley	John VII	705
...	...	...	Sisinnius Constantine I	708
...	...	...	Gregory II	714
718	...	Wilfrith II	...	...

DATE	ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY	ARCHBISHOPS OF YORK	POPES	DATE
731	Tatwine	...	Gregory III	731
734	...	Ecgbehrt	...	...
735	Nothelm	Ecgbehrt (Archbishop)	...	...
741	Cuthbert	...	Zachary	741
...	...	...	Stephen II } Stephen III }	752
...			Paul I	757
...	...	...	...	...
759	Bregwine	...	...	...
763	Jaenbehrt	...	...	...
767	...	Æthelbehrt	...	...
...	...	...	Stephen IV	768
...	...	...	Adrian I	772
780	...	Eanbald I	...	...
790	Æthelheard	...	...	...
...	...	...	Leo III	795
796	...	Eanbald II	...	...
805	Wulfred	...	...	...
812(?)	...	Wulfsige	...	...
...	...	...	Stephen V	816
...	...	...	Paschal I	817
...	...	...	Eugenius II	824
...	...	...	Valentinus	827
...	...	...	Gregory IV	827
829	Feologild	...	...	...
830	Ceolnoth	...	...	...
837	...	Wigmund	...	...
...	...	...	Sergius II	844
...	...	...	Leo IV	847
854	...	Wulfhere	Benedict III	854
...	...	...	Nicholas I	858
...	...	...	Adrian II	867
870	Æthelred	...	...	...
...	...	...	John VIII	872
...	...	...	Martin II	882
...	...	...	Adrian III	884
...	...	...	Stephen VI	885
891	Plegmund	...	Formosus	891
...	...	...	Boniface VI } Stephen VII }	897
900	...	Æthelbald	Theodore II } John IX }	901
...	...	...	Benedict IV	905
...	...	...	Leo V } Christopher }	906
(?)	...	Rodewald	Sergius III	907
...	...	...	Anastatius III	910
...	...	...	Lando	912
...	...	...	John X	913
914	Athelm	...	...	...

DATE	ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY	ARCHBISHOPS OF YORK	POPES	DATE
923	Wulfhelm	...	...	...
...	...	...	Leo VI	928
...	...	...	Stephen VIII	929
931	...	Wulfstan (dep. 954)	John XI	931
...	...	...	Leo VII	936
...	...	...	Stephen IX	939
942	Oda	...	...	...
...	...	...	Martin III	943
...	...	...	Agapetus	946
955(?)	...	Oskytel	John XII	955
959	Ælfsige	...	...	...
960	Dunstan	...	...	...
...	...	...	Leo VIII	963
...	...	...	Benedict V	964
...	...	...	John XIII	965
972	...	Oswald	Domnus II / Benedict VI	972
...	...	...	Boniface VII	974
...	...	...	Benedict VII	975
...	...	...	John XIV	984
...	...	...	John XV	985
988	Æthelgar	...	...	...
990	Sigeric	...	...	...
995	Ælfric	Ealdwulf	...	...
...	...	...	Gregory V	996
...	...	...	Silvester II	999
1003	...	Wulfstan II	John XVI / John XVII	1003
1005	Ælfheah (Elphege)	...	...	...
...	...	...	Sergius IV	1009
...	...	...	Benedict VIII	1012
1013	Lyfing	...	...	...
1020	Æthelnoth	...	...	...
1023	...	Ælfric (Puttock)	...	...
...	...	...	John XVIII	1024
...	...	...	Benedict IX	1034
1038	Eadsige	...	...	...
...	...	...	Gregory VI	1044
...	...	...	Clement	1046
...	...	...	Damasus II	1048
...	...	...	Leo IX	1049
1051	Robert of Jumièges	Cynesige	...	...
1052	Stigand (deposed 1070)	...	...	...
...	...	...	Victor II	1054
...	...	...	Stephen X	1057
...	...	...	Nicholas II	1059
1061	...	Ealdred	Alexander II	1061
1070	Lanfranc	Thomas of Bayeux	...	...
...	...	...	Gregory VII (Hildebrand)	1073

DATE	ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY	ARCHBISHOPS OF YORK	POPES	DATE
...	...	...	Victor II	1086
...	...	...	Urban II	1088
1093	Anselm	...	...	...
...	...	...	Paschal II	1099
1101	...	Gerard	...	...
1109	...	Thomas II	...	...
1114	Ralph d'Escures	...	...	...
...	...	...	Gelasius II	1118
1119	...	Thurstan	Calixtus	1119
1123	William of Corbeuil	...	...	...
...	...	...	Honorius II	1124
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